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C. K. OGDEN



THE VALIDITY
OF
THE HOLY ORDERS

OF
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

MAINTAINED AND VINDICATED, BOTH THEOLOGICALLY AND
HISTORICALLY, WITH FOOT-NOTES, TABLES OF
CONSECRATIONS, AND APPENDICES.

BY

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SOMETIME GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE A.P.U.C.



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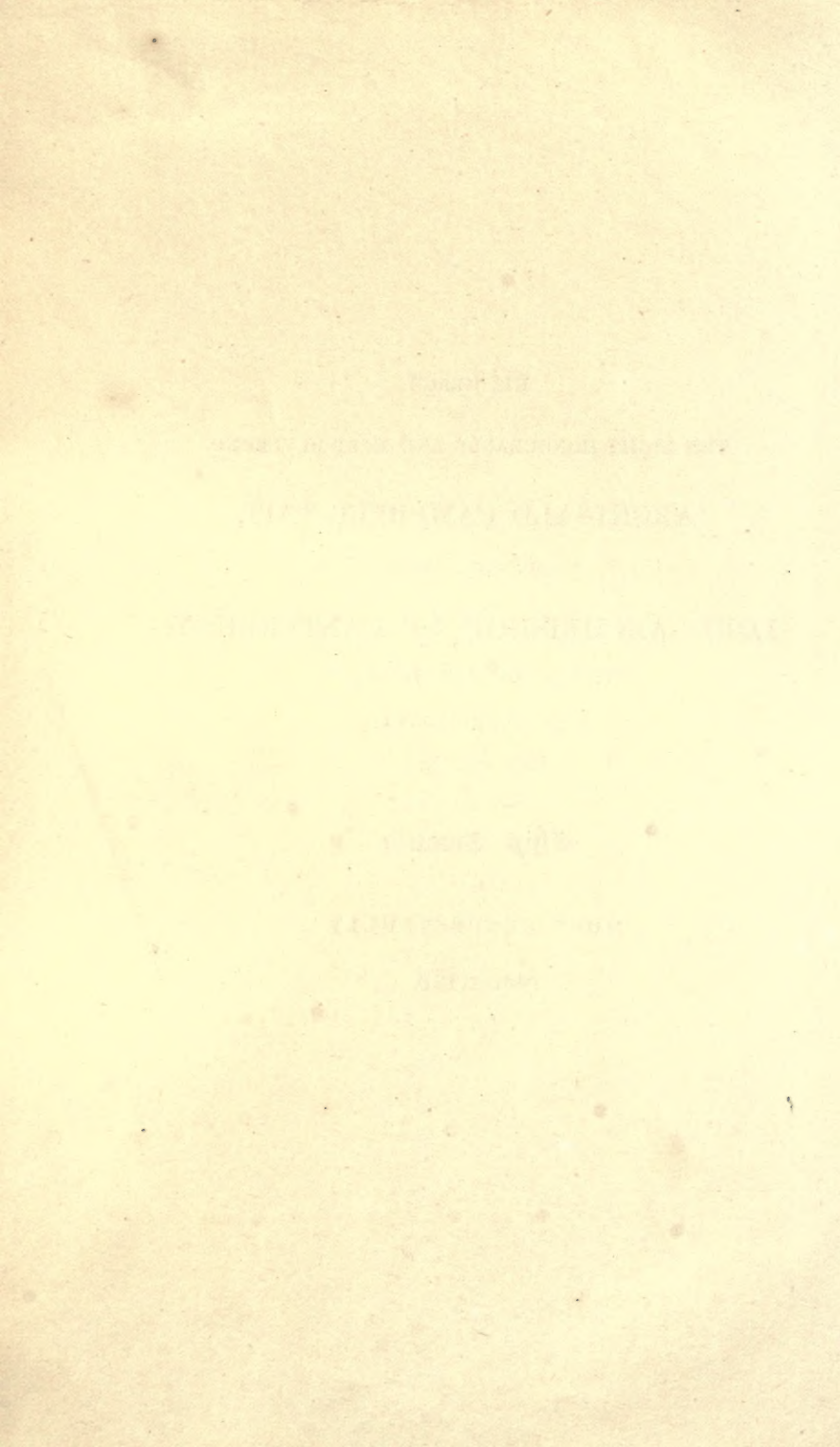
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TO
HIS GRACE
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MOST REVEREND
ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT,
D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,
AND METROPOLITAN,
ETC. ETC. ETC.

This Treatise
IS
MOST RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED.



P R E F A C E.

IT is melancholy to observe how those whose unenviable interest it is to cast doubt on the Validity of our Ordinations do but re-produce arguments which have been again and again refuted at previous periods of our ecclesiastical history. No long time after the changes of the sixteenth century it seems to have been admitted by independent English writers, as it certainly was by competent critics abroad, that Mason's masterly vindication of our position was perfectly conclusive. For, to the more far-sighted Roman Catholics, it appeared highly impolitic, as well as dangerous, to make use of weapons which might on other occasions with deadly effect be turned against those who used them.*

* On this point, bearing on the subject of this book, a distinguished London clergyman, most ably criticising Mr. Canon Williams' *Letters*, wrote in the *Ecclesiastic* as follows:—"We cannot help observing that there are two kinds of negative testimony which are so great as almost to amount to positive evidence for the fact of Barlow's consecration. One of these we have already alluded

And yet the same refuted arguments have been brought forth to do duty whenever arguments have been wanting. It was so towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, when a literature on the subject was created. It is so now by those who are unwise enough to borrow the weapons, and, in some instances, the temper and spirit of past epochs, certainly not renowned for the high tone of their controversial writings.

to—the absolute silence of all contemporary authorities, and the utter absence of any contemporary document which can be even tortured into giving support to this theory. This singular unbroken silence can only be accounted for by rejecting the whole figment of the non-consecration of Barlow. But there is also another kind of negative proof that is also very valuable. From the time when it was first questioned or denied until the present moment, from Dr. Champney down to Mr. Williams, there have been no serious difficulties discovered in the way of our belief in the reality of Barlow's consecration; no argument advanced, beyond such childish ones as Barlow being sometimes called Barlowe, and 'Menivens' being printed 'Menivenc.' But surely with all the zeal which has been displayed, and the ability which has been exerted to throw suspicion on this fact, and to build up an opposite theory, some plausible argument would have been discovered which might at least have suggested a reasonable doubt about Barlow's consecration. Such, however, remains for the skill of future controversialists. Up to the present time the fact is as unshaken as any other fact in history, and the kind of suggestions which have been offered to induce us to discredit the documents which remain to attest the consecration of Barlow, would overthrow our belief in and cast discredit upon any or every fact in ancient or modern times. That is to say, we believe the current events of history on far fewer grounds than we have to believe in the consecration of Bishop Barlow, and the difficulties in the way of being confident about this consecration are fewer and of far less weight than might be imagined and urged against the most undoubted of all truths. We mention this, we confess, with some anxiety, because it affects interests even dearer to us than the fact of the unbroken succession of the British Episcopate. No one can frame a system of critical canons which shall have no applicability beyond the question of the present hour. Such arguments, or such a train of

It is said by onlookers that the Church of England occupies a position *sui generis*. And such is unquestionably the case. On one side she well-nigh touches the Church of Rome—many within her pale agreeing almost entirely, as regards dogma, with the Gallicans of France and the Liberals of Germany; while, as is notorious, the sympathies of others lie in the direction of sects which exist upon theological negations, or a bald individualism. In many respects this variety of sentiment and belief is a misfortune; in others, when the day for

reasoning once—even for the most ephemeral purpose—admitted into the human mind, even if they do not become a settled conviction, and apply themselves to all events and all arguments, however sacred, will yet show themselves, and demand a hearing when we are called upon to listen to and to believe in other truths of a more practical and lasting value to us. No one can venture to take into his mind those canons which Mr. Williams has so recklessly, and we believe so thoughtlessly, strewn over the surface of his book without becoming a confirmed sceptic in all the facts of history. And no one can be a sceptic with regard to one part of God's dealings with man—for His hand is in the deeds of profane history—without becoming a sceptic in the written revelation of His will, and the truths and facts of His grace. The mind of man, marvellous and inconsistent as it may seem to us, is yet one, and the measure which it applies to worldly things must influence and practically become the measure with reference to Divine things. In an eloquent, though melancholy essay on the declension of the French Church, the Abbé Meignan has lately given expression to his regrets that the Clergy of that Church should have abandoned the exegesis of Holy Scripture to the critics of Germany, whilst they have devoted their energies only to idle and spurious legends. Mr. Williams and his friends have not merely done this, they have borrowed the arms at once of Strauss and Paulus, and have given their sanction to the weapons of infidelity by using them to throw doubt upon the facts of history. The weapons, let us remind him, are doubled-edged; they may cut away in some minds their trust in one class of truths, but it will be by destroying their confidence in all.”—*The Ecclesiastic*, vol. xxi., pp. 511-512.

Corporate Re-union approaches, it may eventually prove a blessing. At all events, even if the present position of the English Church is peculiar, and divergent in many respects from the position of any part of the Christian Family in past centuries, when that Family was visibly One, it seems self-evident that whatever misfortunes befell her three centuries and a-half ago, she has never forfeited her position nor denied any part of the ancient deposit of unalterable truth. After times of moral disorder and intellectual confusion the old system was found still existing; while, during the rule of Laud, her position was considerably in advance of that which had been occupied under Bancroft or Abbot. At the Restoration prelates and divines of the Catholic school obtained authority, and left their valuable impress on our church polity. Latitudinarianism as a system, like Protestantism rather negative than positive, certainly exercised considerable influence, but was altogether unable to cope successfully with those who had something definite to teach. Bishop Bull, and others of his school in the seventeenth century, with the able opponents of Deism in that which succeeded, accurately taught foreign churchmen the true position of our national communion; while the revival of Catholic doctrine and practice at the present time—in all its principles, details, and results—is a strong moral argument, capable of being well intrenched and efficiently used, in favour of the Catholic character of our Church, and by consequence of the Validity of our Ordina-

tions. A branch* which is lopped off the parent stem of a tree falls and dies. For one spring, while yet the sap is green and ere the sun is strong, a few feeble and delicate leaves may for awhile appear; but soon the life of the severed branch is gone, its sap dry. Who will say this of the Church of England? Only those rash partizans who are trained to condemn history and to despise facts. The moral arguments on behalf of the Validity of our Orders, therefore, though unconsidered here, should never be overlooked.

As regards this treatise, no one is more conscious than its author of his manifest incapacity to do its subject justice; or of its many obvious imperfections as it now appears. He most reluctantly came to undertake it from the following circumstances:—More than ten years ago, when he was General Secretary of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, it was determined by several distinguished persons that some defence of certain recent attacks on our Orders should be at once entered upon. A circular was consequently

* Good and striking metaphors are valuable and to be respected. Bad metaphors, on the other hand, are perplexing to the reader, and bring no credit to a writer. The author of this book has always most carefully avoided using a common metaphor involved in stating what is known amongst Anglicans as the "Branch Church theory," because, to him, its obvious want of accuracy should be fatal to its adoption. The striking metaphor of a Family applied to the Church and used by St. Paul (Ephesians iii. 15) is perfect. For a particular family, though more or less visibly divided, and separated by distance, notwithstanding such divisions and separations, remains one family still. Whereas a Branch visibly detached from its trunk is surely lifeless.

issued to this effect, signed by the Bishop of Brechin, the Hon. G. F. Boyle (now the Earl of Glasgow), Canon Humble of St. Ninian's, Perth, Dr. Oldknow of Bordesley, Mr. Upton Richards, and Mr. T. W. Perry. It was countersigned by himself. But nothing came of this preliminary action. From time to time, however, the author gathered materials for completing one detail of the subject which he had been specially appointed to undertake. And, when the scheme as planned fell through—how or why it is not easy to say—he continued to give his attention to other points. He did so under difficulties, amid active parish work and other literary labours. His task is now concluded, however; and should this volume tend to convince any of our opponents that the Church of England is an organization, bearing the same relation to the Church of Rome with regard to Holy Orders, as do the Oriental churches, something will have been done towards paving the way for an eventual reconciliation.

If, however, shifting their ground once again, as appears to be not unlikely, our opponents admit the historical facts, so long in dispute, to be true, and take up a new position, such action will prove the intrinsic weakness of their cause. Or, on the other hand, should they still deny the historical facts, let a joint-committee for investigating them be appointed by Archbishop Tait and Archbishop Manning. For, as the documents concerning our Orders are preserved in England, such an investigation could be far more efficiently carried on here than

elsewhere. There can be no doubt whatever what the result of such an enquiry would be.

The author's labours have been lightened by the obliging co-operation and courteous assistance of many. The late Archbishop Longley granted him permission to inspect and make use of the Archiepiscopal Registers preserved at Lambeth Palace—a favour which the present Archbishop of Canterbury very graciously continued. The late Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., of Dublin, rendered him efficient help; as have likewise, the Rev. Alfred T. Lee, LL.D., and the Rev. R. F. Littledale, D.C.L. He is much indebted also to Prebendary Liddon for certain valuable remarks, which are thankfully acknowledged in the body of the book. Canon Estcourt of Birmingham, was kind enough to point out difficulties demanding attention, which the author trusts that distinguished Roman Catholic clergyman may not hold that he has altogether disregarded. To the Reverends Chancellor Massingberd of Lincoln; William Denton, M.A., of St. Bartholomew's, Moorfields; James O'Kane, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; P. G. Medd, M.A., of University College, and H. N. Oxenham, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, his thanks are due for having so readily replied to his letters seeking information on certain questions under consideration. He is likewise under obligations to the Earl of Glasgow, and to Lord Camoys, which are here cordially acknowledged. He also thanks for their assistance the Ven. Archdeacon Hale, Curator of Lambeth Palace Library,

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In the transcribed documents which are printed amongst the Appendices, it will be found that the transcribers have not followed an uniform rule in copying them, accounted for by the fact that different transcribers have assisted the author ; and still further explained because in many of the documents of the middle and latter part of the sixteenth century, neither the modes of spelling, nor the character of the contractions, are uniform. The documents have been reproduced with as great accuracy as is possible with ordinary type, though certain errors have here and there unavoidably crept into them.

Much information regarding facts, more abundantly corroborative of that which is here provided, has been purposely omitted, in order that the

volume should not become too bulky. This decision was before the author when treating particularly of the Nag's Head Fable—the tedious details of which, trivial and puerile in the highest degree, have demanded a considerable exercise of patience in their consideration.

Assumptions and arguments founded on the accidental inaccuracies of dates, places, spelling, and use of capital letters found in MS. documents of the sixteenth century, are evidently made by those practically unacquainted with such documents: for mistakes occur more or less in all.

In regard to such inaccuracies in general, the following quotation from the Preface of a biographical work published ten years ago, may be pertinent:—

“ Among the many thousand dates given, numerous errors have, I fear, crept in. Some have been corrected in the *Errata* attached to each volume: others have doubtlessly escaped detection. Nor can I implicitly rely on the works to what I have referred for such information; as most certainly many inaccuracies exist in them. For instance, *Collins's Peerage*, the *Gentleman's, European*, and the *Scots' Magazine*, each give a different date for the death of Lady Mary Duncan. Three at least of these, perhaps all four, are wrong, though the Magazines were published within one month of her decease.”*

To mistakes of this nature in ancient as well as modern documents, fallible men are all liable. No arguments exclusively founded upon them, deserve any serious consideration. Random and

* Preface to “Correspondence of the Marquis Cornwallis.” 8vo. London: 1859.

rash charges of forgery, on account of such clerical errors, it should be further remarked, are now commonly made or insinuated only by anonymous writers.

Finally, any criticisms or suggestions for the improvement of a second edition, should it be called for, will be thankfully received and carefully considered.

F. G. L.

6, LAMBETH TERRACE, LONDON, S.W.

St. Edward's Day, October 13th, 1869.

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VALIDITY OF THE ANGLICAN ORDERS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: STATEMENT OF THE AUTHOR'S OBJECT.

IT is the aim of the compiler of this Treatise to provide a volume which shall contain not merely a complete and practical defence of the Validity of Anglican Ordinations but a verbatim reprint, at full length, of those public and official documents which assist in proving their validity.

It is notorious that for several years after the Reformation objections were mainly taken to the *irregularity*, and not to the *validity*, of ordinations bestowed by the Reformed Ordinal. Since the period when the notorious Nag's Head Fable of Neale was first put forth,* however, nothing is more remarkable than the fact that so many contradictory

* The first mention of the so-called Nag's Head Consecration occurs in a book published at Antwerp in 1604, by Hollywood, entitled, *De Investig. Verâ et Visib. Christi Eccl.*, c. iv., pp. 17-19,—thirty-five years after Parker's consecration at Lambeth. Up to this period the arguments against our ordinations turned on the irregularity of orders conferred by those in a state of separation from the Holy See, on the want of confirmation by the Pope, or on the non-use of the ancient Ritual.

methods have been in use by those who have laboured with such energy to disparage the Catholic character of the Church of England. Scarcely two of its impugnors have coincided in their objections. In some cases our opponents have been content to rest their case upon the fable already referred to, in others upon the fact that the Record of Bishop William Barlow's consecration is not forthcoming; while some few have boldly maintained that the independent Records of Archbishop Parker's consecration, both at Lambeth and Cambridge, are forgeries. Nor have they hesitated to make a similar charge against other external testimonies both written and printed, in which a record of that consecration is either described or referred to. Again: some other objectors have more recently based their arguments either on the alleged novelty and invalidity of the form and matter, provided by the first Reformed Ordinal set forth in 1549, or upon the want of a proper and adequate intention on the part of those prelates who made use of it: while the additions and improvements which were made to the forms of consecration and ordination in 1662 have been also used as arguments to maintain the proposition that the previous forms were avowedly insufficient. It is the object of the writer of this Treatise to reply *seriatim* to all these and to other objections. He will aim at proving his case rather by a plain statement of undoubted facts,—giving at length his authorities for each and all, than by entering upon a consideration of many of those collateral topics,—such for example as the general character of the Reformation or the personal opinions of Archbishop

Variety and
contradictory
character of the
objections to
the Ordinations
of the Church
of England.

Cranmer and other contemporary prelates,—which have been sometimes introduced with the apparent intention of obscuring the real points at issue, and of adding theological and literary difficulties to a discussion, which in its broad and general bearing turns mainly upon questions of fact.

CHAPTER II.

THE PREFACE TO THE ORDINAL OF 1549.

IN the third year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth the Parliament, which was opened on the 4th of November, passed an Act from which the following is an extract:—"Such form and manner of making and consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, as by six prelates and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the King to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal before the First of April next coming, shall be lawfully exercised and used, and no other" (3 Edward VI., cap. 2).

Accordingly a form was drawn up in that same year by twelve commissioners, viz., Archbishop Cranmer, (of Canterbury,) Bishops Goodrich, (of Ely,) Holbeach, (of Lincoln,) Skyp, (suffragan of Hereford,) Thirleby, (of Westminster, afterwards translated to Norwich,) and Ridley, (of Rochester, afterwards of London,) together with Coxe, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Taylor, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln; May, Dean of St. Paul's; Heynes, Dean of Exeter; Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester; and Redmayne, Archdeacon of Taunton.

The mind of
the Anglican
Church set
forth in this
Preface.

The Preface to this new Ordinal—containing very clearly the sentiments of the Church of England—ran as follows:—

It is euident unto all men diligently redyng holy Scripture, and auncient aucthors, that from the apostles tyme there hath been these Ordres of Ministers in Christes Church—Bishops, Priestes, and Deacons, which officies were euermore had, in such reuerent estimation, that no manne by his alone prinate aucthoritie, might presume to execute any of theim, excepte he were firste called, tried, examined, and knowen, to haue suche qualities as wer requisite for the same. And also by publike praiser, with imposition of handes, approued, and admitted thereunto. And therefore to the intent these orders should be continued, and reuerently used and esteemed in this Churche of Englande, it is requisite that no man (not beeyng at this present, Bishoppe, Prieste, nor Deacon) shall execute any of theim, excepte he bee called, tried, examined, and admitted accordyng to the forme hereafter followyng. And none shall be admitted a Deacon except he bee xxi yerres of age at the least. And euery manne which is to be admitted a Priest, shall be full xxiii yerres olde. And euery manne which is to be consecrated a Bishoppe shall be fully thirtie yerres of age. And the Bishoppe knowyng either by hymself or by sufficient testimony, any person, to be a manne of Cleereous conversacion, and without crime, and after examination and triall finding hym learned in the Latin tongue, and sufficiently instructed in Holy Scripture, maie upon a Sondaye or holy daie, in the face of the Churche, admit hym a Deacon, in such maner and forme as hereafter followeth.*

* The Preface to the present Ordinal given here differs somewhat from that quoted above. The main alterations, noted by letters within parentheses, are placed in italics:—

“It is euident unto all men diligently reading (a) *the* holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church ; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, that no man (b) [*by his own private authority omitted*] might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same ; and also by publick Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, (c) *were* approved and admitted thereunto by lawful Authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed (d) *in the United Church of England and Ireland*, (e) [*it is requisite the omitted*] no man (f) [*this sentence is considerably altered*] *shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the United Church of England and Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions,*

Here it is to be especially noted—and none of these statements should be lost sight of—that a claim is thus formally and officially made on the part of the Church of England to follow the rule (α) of Scripture, (β) of ancient authors, and (γ) of the Universal Church from the apostles' time. Furthermore a most explicit intention is likewise set forth that the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon “should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England.” What has been her constant and unvarying practice from the period of the publication of that Preface unto the present time is notorious. The directions in the latter part of the Preface have been scrupulously followed. In no portion of the Christian family have ordinations been duly conferred with greater care or with more unvarying regularity; while at the same time the doctrinal teaching embodied in this official declaration has been universally proclaimed during the last three centuries on the part of her prelates, doctors, and divines.

The care evidenced to follow antiquity and the practice of the Universal Church.

except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration, or Ordination.

“And none shall be admitted a Deacon, except he be (g) *Twenty-three years of age, unless he have a Faculty.* And every man which is to be admitted a Priest shall be full Four-and-twenty years old. And every man which is to be (h) *ordained or consecrated Bishop shall be fully Thirty years of age.*

“And the Bishop, knowing either by himself, or by sufficient testimony, any Person to be a man of virtuous conversation, and without crime; and, after examination and trial, finding him learned in the Latin Tongue, and sufficiently instructed in holy Scripture, may (i) *at the times appointed in the Canon, or else, on urgent occasion, upon some other Sunday or Holy-day, in the face of the Church, admit him a Deacon, in such manner and form as hereafter followeth.*”

In this Preface, while the major or chief orders are retained, the minor orders, however, are not referred to. They existed in the mediæval Church of England, and were almost identical with those still conferred in all parts of the Roman obedience as a preparation for the major orders. Three of the seven amongst Roman Catholics are now called "sacred" or "holy," viz.:—the (1) priest, (2) deacon, and (3) subdeacon,—the remaining four being respectively (4) acolyte, (5) exorcist, (6) reader, and (7) doorkeeper. In the Eastern communions the division is not quite the same, nor indeed are the orders themselves precisely identical with those of the Latin Church. Here in England the office of *clericus** (clerk) has been retained, and in many cathedrals certain officials have been appointed ever since the Reformation to undertake some of those duties which had been previously performed by persons in minor orders. For example: choir-men and choristers, though not formally set apart by prayer, have been retained in cathedral, collegiate, and many parish churches; while "lay-deacons" so called, have been recently appointed by the late Primate of All England and certain of his suffragans.†

* (a) "Then the Minister or Clerks going to the Lord's Table,"—Rubric in *Solemnization of Matrimony*. (b) "The Priest and Clerks meeting the Corpse,"—Rubric in *The Order for the Burial of the Dead*, Book of Common Prayer.

† The following Form of Appointment was adopted by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Rules which are appended have been formally sanctioned, and were issued by His Grace's authority:—

" APPOINTMENT.

" Charles Thomas, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to our well-beloved in Christ —, of the parish of —, in our diocese of Canterbury, greeting.

[" Whereas

Both in theory and practice, therefore,—in word as well as in deed, both in written document and in public acts, no material change was effected at the Reformation. The ancient principle regarding the character and importance of Holy Orders was neither lost sight of, ignored, nor rejected. No one can deny that while this Preface most plainly and explicitly asserts what the Church of England intended to do, her constant practice from that time to the present, which none can ignore, sets forth with equal plainness what she *has* done. If, therefore, by a careful examination and statement of facts, it can be proved that the usual arguments against the validity of certain of our ordinations conferred at the period

“Whereas we are duly informed of your desire to assist in the pastoral administration of your parish, by undertaking the work of a lay deacon amongst the people, and under the direction of the parish priest, that —

“We do hereby give you our ordinary authority and commission to execute such office of a lay deacon in the district to be assigned you of the said parish, and according to the rules in that behalf revised and appointed by us.

“Given under our hand this 16th day of October, 1865.

(L.S.)

(Signed)

“C. T. CANTUAR.”

“RULES.

“Each deacon to have a small defined district.

“He is to devote an hour a day to diaconate work.

“To acquaint himself by visitation with the names, persons, and callings and habits of the labouring population of his district.

“To specially seek out such children not baptized, attending no school, being neglected, or otherwise in an outcast state.

“To mark the case of any outcast adults whom there may appear any chance to reclaim.

“To note cases of sickness, &c.; make them known to the parish priest, and assist in their visitation.

“To be ministrants of alms to the sick and needy in connection with lady associates, now known as district visitors.

“To assist the parish priest in parochial work wherever his services can be of use.”

of the Reformation are unsound and fallacious, it will follow that one material difficulty in the way of Roman Catholics placing the Church of England, as regards this particular, on a level with the Eastern Church, will have been successfully overcome. Erroneous impressions will be removed, and the re-ordination of persons already possessing the character of the priesthood will be shown to have been grounded on a misapprehension of the true facts of the case.

CHAPTER III.

THE FORM FOR THE ORDINATION OF DEACONS, 1549.

IN reprinting this and the following Forms, the rare black letter edition of 1549, with the colophon below, has been carefully followed :—

RICHARDUS GRAFTON
TYPOGRAPHUS REGIUS EXECUDEBAT
MENSE MARTII
A.M.D.XLIX.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

For the sake of convenience the modern form of spelling has been adopted, while a few notes indicating such changes as were made under Queen Elizabeth have been added, in order to obviate the necessity of needlessly lengthening this book by repetitions :—

¶ The Form and manner of Ordering of Deacons.

First, when the day appointed by the Bishop is come, there shall be an exhortation, declaring the duty and Office of such as come to be admitted Ministers, how necessary such orders are in the Church of CHRIST, and also how the people ought to esteem them in their vocation.

¶ After the exhortation ended, the archdeacon, or his deputy, shall present such as come to the Bishop to be admitted. *Every one of them that are presented having upon him a plain alb, and the archdeacon or his deputy shall say these words.**

* These words in italics were omitted in the Form of Ordination printed in 1552.

REVEREND father in GOD, I present unto you these persons present, to be admitted Deacons.

The Bishop. Take heed that the persons whom ye present unto Us, be apt and meet, for their learning and godly conversation, to exercise their ministry duly, to the honour of God, and edifying of His Church.

The Archdeacon shall answer.

I have inquired of them, and also examined them, and think them so to be.

¶ And then the Bishop shall say unto the people.

BRETHREN, if there be any of you, who knoweth any impediment, or notable crime, in any of these persons presented to be ordered Deacons, for the which he ought not to be admitted to the same, let him come forth in the Name of God, and shew what the crime or impediment is.

¶ And if any great crime or impediment be objected, the Bishop shall surcease from ordering that person, until such time as the party accused shall try himself clear of that crime.

¶ Then the Bishop, commending such as shall be found meet to be ordered to the prayers of the congregation, with *the Clerks** and people present, shall say or sing the Litany as followeth, with the prayers.

The Litany and Suffrages.

O God the Father of Heaven : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Father of Heaven : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

* The words in italics here were omitted, and "the clergy" substituted for them in the revision of 1662.

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O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, Three Persons and One God : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, Three Persons and One God : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take Thou vengeance of our sins. Spare us, good Lord, spare Thy people whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy Most Precious Blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Spare us good Lord.

From all evil and mischief, from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil, from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation :

Good Lord deliver us.

From all blindness of heart : from pride, vain glory, and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness :

Good Lord deliver us.

From fornication, and all other deadly sin, and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil :

Good Lord deliver us.

From lightning and tempest, from plague, pestilence, and famine, from battle, and murder, and from sudden death :

Good Lord deliver us.

From all sedition and privy conspiracy, *from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities*,* from all false doctrine and heresy, from hardness of heart, and contempt of Thy word and commandment :

Good Lord deliver us.

By the mystery of Thy Holy Incarnation, by Thy Holy Nativity and Circumcision, by Thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation :

Good Lord deliver us.

By Thine Agony and Bloody Sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, by Thy Precious Death and Burial, by Thy Glorious

* Most happily omitted in the Form printed in the year 1559.

Resurrection and Ascension, and by the Coming of the Holy Ghost :

Good Lord deliver us.

In all time of our tribulation, in all time of our wealth, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment :

Good Lord deliver us.

We sinners do beseech Thee to hear us (O Lord God), and that it may please Thee to rule and govern Thy Holy Church Universal in the right way.

We beseech Thee to hear us Good Lord.

That it may please Thee to keep Edward VI., Thy servant, our king and governour :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to Rule his heart in Thy faith, fear, and love, that he may always have affiance in Thee, and ever seek Thy honour and glory :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to be his defender and keeper, giving him the victory over all his enemies :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to illuminate all Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers of the Church, with true knowledge and understanding of Thy word, and that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth, and shew it accordingly :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to bless these men, and send Thy grace upon them, that they may duly execute the office now to be committed unto them, to the edifying of Thy Church, and to Thy honour, praise, and glory :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to endue the lords of the Council, and all the Nobility, with grace, wisdom, and understanding :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to bless and keep the Magis-

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trates, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to bless and keep all Thy people :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to give to all nations unity, peace, and concord :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to give us an heart to love and dread Thee, and diligently to live after Thy commandments :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to give all Thy people increase of grace, to hear meekly Thy Word, and to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to strengthen such as do stand, and to comfort and help the weak-hearted, and to raise them up that fall, and finally to beat down Sathan under our feet :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to succour, help, and comfort all that be in danger, necessity, and tribulation :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child, all sick persons and young children, and to shew Thy pity upon all prisoners and captives :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, and all that be desolate and oppressed :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to have mercy upon all men :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time we may enjoy them :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

That it may please Thee to give us true repentance, to forgive us all our sins, negligences and ignorances, and to endue us with the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, to amend our lives according to Thy Holy Word :

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

Son of God, we beseech Thee to hear us.

Son of God, we beseech Thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

Grant us Thy peace.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

Have mercy upon us.

O Christ hear us.

O Christ hear us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Our Father, Which art in Heaven, with the residue of the *Pater noster.*

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

§ The Versicle. O Lord deal not with us after our sins.

¶ The Answer. Neither reward us after our iniquities.

¶ Let us pray.

O God, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of

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a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful, mercifully assist our prayers, that we make before Thee, in all our troubles and adversities, whensoever they oppress us; and graciously hear us, that those evils, which the craft and subtilty of the devil or man worketh against us, be brought to nought, and by the providence of Thy goodness they may be dispersed, that we Thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions, may evermore give thanks unto Thee in Thy Holy Church : through Jesu Christ our Lord.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us, for Thy Name's sake.

O GOD, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us, for Thine honour.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost : As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

From our enemies defend us, O Christ.

Graciously look upon our afflictions.

Pitifully behold the sorrows of our heart.

Mercifully forgive the sins of Thy people.

Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.

O Son of David, have mercy upon us.

Both now and ever vouchsafe to hear us, O Christ.

Graciously hear us, O Christ :

Graciously hear us, O Lord Christ.

¶ The Versicle. O Lord let Thy mercy be shewed upon us.

The Answer. As we do put our trust in Thee.

¶ Let us pray.

WE humbly beseech Thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities, and for the glory of Thy Name's sake turn from us all those evils, that we most righteously have deserved : And grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in Thy mercy, and evermore serve Thee in holiness and pureness of living, to Thy honour and

glory : through our only mediator and advocate Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, Which hast given us grace at this time with one accord, to make our common supplications unto thee, and dost promise that when two or three be gathered in Thy name, Thou wilt grant their requests : fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of Thy servants, as may be most expedient for them, granting us in this world knowledge of Thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, Which by Thy divine providence hast appointed diverse orders of ministers in the church : and didst inspire Thine holy Apostles to choose unto this order of Deacons the first Martyr Saint Stephin, with other : mercifully behold these Thy servants, now called to the like office and administration : replenish them so with the truth of Thy doctrine, and innocency of life, that both by word and good example they may faithfully serve Thee in this office, to the glory of Thy name, and profit of the congregation, through the merits of our Saviour Jesu Christ : Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen.

Then shall be sung or said the Communion of the day, saving the Epistle shall be read out of Timothe, as followeth :

LIKEWISE must Thine Ministers be honest, not double tongued, not given unto much wine, neither greedy of filthy lucre, but holding the mystery of the faith with a pure conscience. And let them first be proved, and then let them minister, so that no man be able to reprove them. Even so must their wives be honest, not evil speakers, but sober and faithful in all things. Let the Deacons be the husbands of one wife, and such as rule their children well, and their own households. For they that minister well, get themselves a good degree, and a great liberty in the faith, which is in Christ Jesu.

These things write I unto thee, trusting to come shortly unto thee : but and if I tarry long, that then thou mayest yet have knowledge, how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the congregation of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth. And without doubt, great is that mystery of godliness. God was shewed in the flesh, was justified in the Spirit, was seen among the Angels, was

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preached unto the Gentiles, was believed on in the world, and received up in glory.

Or else this out of the vi. of the Acts.

THEN the twelve called the multitude of the disciples together, and said, It is not meet that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, and full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom, to whom we may commit this business: but we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the administration of the word. And that saying pleased the whole multitude. And they chose Stephin, a man full of faith, and full of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Procorus, and Nichanor, and Timon, and Permenas, and Nicholas, a convert of Antioch. These they set before the Apostles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them. And the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the priests were obedient unto the faith.

¶ And before the Gospel, the Bishop, sitting in a chair, shall cause the Oath of the King's supremacy, and against the usurped* power and authority of the Bishop of Rome,† to be ministered unto every of them that are to be ordered.

¶ The Oath of the King's Sovereignty.‡

I from henceforth shall utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, power, and jurisdiction. And I shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner

* "Usurped" omitted in 1559.

† "All foreign potentates," 1559.

‡ The following is the form of the Oath taken in 1559:—"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's highness is the only supreme governour of this realm, and all other her highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm: and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the Queen's highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, so help me God, and the contents of this book."

of authority, jurisdiction or power within this realm, or any other the King's dominions, but shall resist the same at all times to the uttermost of my power. And I from henceforth will accept, requite, and take the King's majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England: and to my cunning, wit, and uttermost of my power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, I will observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made and to be made within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome, and his authority; and all other acts and statutes made or to be made, in confirmation and corroboration of the King's power, of the supreme head in earth of the Church of England. And this I will do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, or degree, or condition they may be; and in no wise do, nor attempt, nor to my power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or asserty, to the let, hindrance, damage or derogation thereof, or any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. And in case any other be made, or hath been made by me, to any person or persons, in maintenance, defence, or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, I refute the same as vain and annihilate. So help me God, through Jesus Christ.

¶ Then shall the Bishop examine every one of them that are to be ordered, in the presence of the people, after this manner following.*

Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon you this Office and ministration, to serve God, for the promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people?

* These interrogations are, in some respects, a novelty. There is, however, a short form of examination in an Ordinal of the eleventh century, printed by Martene, *Rit. Eccl.*, ii., p. 146 :—

Episc. Est dignus? *Resp.* Dignus est.

Episc. Est justus. *Resp.* Justus est.

Episc. Faciat illum Deus semper in suo servitio dignus et justum manere.

Deinde interrogat Episcopus presbyterum hic verbis Vis presbyterii gradum in Nomine Domini accipere. *R.* Volo, etc.

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Answer. I trust so.

The Bishop. Do ye think that ye truly be called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this realm, to the ministry of the Church?

Answer. I think so.

The Bishop. Do ye unfeignedly believe all the Canonical scriptures of the old and new Testament?

Answer. I do believe.

The Bishop. Will you diligently read the same unto the people assembled in the Church, where you shall be appointed to serve?

Answer. I will.

The Bishop. It pertaineth to the office of a Deacon in the church where he shall be appointed, to assist the Priest in divine service, and specially when he ministereth the holy communion, and to help him in distribution thereof, and to read holy scriptures and Homilies in the congregation, and to instruct the youth in the Catechism, to Baptize and to preach,* if he be commanded† by the Bishop. And furthermore, it is his office [where provision is so made, 1559] to search for the sick, poor, and impotent people of the parish, and to intimate the‡ estates, names, and places where they dwell, to the Curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved by the parish, or other convenient alms: will you do this gladly and willingly?

Answer. I will so do by the help of God.

The Bishop. Will you apply all your diligence to frame and fashion your own lives, and the lives of all your family, according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both your selves and them, as much as in you lieth, wholesome examples of the flock of Christ?

Answer. I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop. Will you reverently obey your ordinary, and other chief Ministers of the church, and them to whom the

* *Episcopus dicet eis sive nota, sedendo*: Diaconum oportet ministrare ad altare, Evangelium legere, baptizare et prædicare.—Sarum Ordinal, in loco.

† "Admitted thereto," 1559.

‡ "Their," 1559.

government and charge is committed over you, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions ?

Answer. I will thus endeavour my self, the Lord being my helper.

Then the Bishop, laying his hands severally upon the head of every of them, shall say.

Take thou authority* to execute the Office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee : In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then shall the Bishop deliver to every one of them the New Testament, saying.

Take thou authority to Read the Gospel in the Church of God,† and to preach the same, if thou be thereunto ordinarily commanded.

Then one of them appointed by the Bishop, putting on a tunicle,‡ shall read the Gospel of that day.

Then shall the Bishop proceed to the Communion, and all that be ordered shall tarry and receive the Holy Communion the same day with the Bishop.

The Communion ended, after the last Collect, and immediately before the benediction, shall be said this collect following.

ALMIGHTY God giver of all good things, which of thy great goodness hast vouchsafed to accept and take these thy servants unto the office of Deacons in thy church : make them we beseech thee (O Lord) to be modest, humble, and constant in their ministration, to have a ready will to observe all spiritual discipline, that they having always the testimony of a good conscience, and continuing ever stable, and strong in

* In the Winton Pontifical, an English MS., the words "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum," which are found in the Sarum, Rouen, Exeter, and Bangor forms, do not occur. "Hi cum ordinantur," runs the Winton MS., "solus episcopus qui eos benedicit manum super capita eorum ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecrantur, dicens, oremus, dilectissimi, etc."

† *Post hæc tradat eis Librum Evangeliorum, dicens, In Nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, accipe potestatem legendi evangelium in ecclesia Dei, tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis, in Nomine Domini. Amen.—Sarum Ordinal in loco.*

‡ "Putting on a tunicle" was omitted in 1559.

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thy Son Christ, may so well use them selves in this inferior office, that they may be found worthy to be called unto the higher ministries in thy church, through the same thy Son our Saviour Christ: to whom be glory and honour, world without end. Amen.

And here it must be shewed unto the Deacon, that he must continue in that office of a Deacon the space of a whole year at the least (except for reasonable causes it be otherwise seen to his ordinary) to the intent he may be perfect, and well expert in the things appertaining to the Ecclesiastical administration: in executing whereof if he be found faithful and diligent, he may be admitted by his Diocesan to the order of Priesthood.

From this Form of Ordination it will be seen that it contains:—1st, a specific mention by the Archdeacon of the order of Deacons in the act of presentation to the Ordainer; 2ndly, a special prayer in the Litany, and a Collect (p. 17) on behalf of, and for God's grace upon, the persons to be ordained; 3rdly, a public testimony that the candidate for ordination seeks that particular office, and thinks himself called to it; 4thly, a formal commission to execute the office of a Deacon, by the laying on of the Bishop's hands, "Take thou authority," etc.; and 5thly, the delivery of the New Testament, with an official authorization to "read the Gospel [*i.e.*, the Gospel in the Communion Service] in the Church of God." These points being noted, it seems impossible to deny that, in substance and essentials, the form set forth and here reprinted, though somewhat altered from that which had been used in England for conveying this order during several centuries, is to all intents and purposes identical both with that, and with the forms used in the Western churches; and is, moreover, sufficient to convey the gift of the diaconate.

Five Salient
Points in the
Form for Or-
dination of
Deacons, 1549.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FORM FOR THE ORDINATION OF PRIESTS, 1549.

THE following Form for the Ordination of Priests is that which, with immaterial alterations, was in use in the Church of England from the year 1549 to the year 1662. In its consideration, it should be remembered (*a*) that the title “sacerdos” was retained in the Latin version of the Thirty-nine Articles,* (*β*) that a form of consecration of our Lord’s Body and Blood identical in substance with that of the Canon of the Mass was preserved in the Communion Service, and (*γ*) that three distinct forms of absolution remained in use in the remodelled Prayer Book of the Church of England. With the private opinions or individual peculiarities of particular influential bishops or divines at the period of the changes which were effected, we have nothing to do. The Anglican Church is responsible only for the public formularies arranged by her divines and sanctioned by the law of the land.

Facts to be remembered in a consideration of the Form for the Ordination of Priests 1549.

The Form of Ordering of Priests.

When the exhortation is ended,† then shall be sung for the Introit to the Communion this Psalm, *Expectans expectavi Dominum*.—Psal. xl.

* Art. xxxii., *De Conjugio Sacerdotum*.

† This Rubric ran as follows in the edition of 1552:—“When the exhortation is ended, then shall follow the Communion. And for the Epistle shall be read out of the twenty Chapter of the acts of the Apostles, as followeth,”

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[Here follows the Psalm at length, with the Glory be to the Father, etc.]

Or else this Psalm, *Memento Domini David*.—Psalm. cxxxii.

[Here follows the Psalm.]

Or else this Psalm, *Laudate Nomen Domini*.—Psalm. cxxxv.

[Here follows the Psalm.]

Then shall be read for the Epistle this out of the xx Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

FROM Mileto Paul sent messengers to Ephesus, and called the Elders of the congregation : which when they were come to him, he said unto them. Ye know that from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons, serving the Lord with all humbleness of mind, and with many tears and temptations, which happened unto me by the layings await of the Jews, because I would keep back nothing that was profitable unto you, but to shew you and teach you openly throughout every house : witnessing both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, the repentance that is toward God, and the faith which is toward our Lord Jesus, And now behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall come on me there, but that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bands and trouble abide me. But none of these things move me, neither is my life dear unto my self, that I might fulfil my course with joy and the ministration of the word, which I have received of the Lord Jesu, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God. And now behold, I am sure that henceforth ye all (through whom I have gone preaching the Kingdom of God) shall see my face no more. Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have spared no labour, but have shewed you all the counsel of God. Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock ; among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to rule the congregation of God, which he hath purchased with his blood. For I am sure of this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Moreover of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them. Therefore awake, and remember that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one of you night and day, with tears.

And now, brethren, I commend you to GOD, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build farther, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. I have desired no man's silver, gold, or vesture. Yea, you your selves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring, ye ought to receive the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesu, how that he said, it is more blessed to give, than to receive.

Or else this third Chapter of the first Epistle to Timothe.

THIS is a true saying : If any man desire the office of a Bishop, he

desireth an honest work. A Bishop therefore must be blameless, the husband of one wife, diligent, sober, discreet, a keeper of hospitality, apt to teach, not given to overmuch wine, no fighter, not greedy of filthy lucre, but gentle, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness, one that ruleth well his own house, one that hath children in subjection with all reverence. For if a man cannot rule his own house, how shall he care for the congregation of God? he may not be a young scholar, lest he swell, and fall into the judgment of the evil speaker. He must also have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into rebuke and snare of the evil speaker.

Likewise must the Ministers be honest, not doubletongued, not given unto much wine, neither greedy of filthy lucre; but holding the mystery of the faith, with a pure conscience. And let them first be proved, and then let them minister so, that no man be able to reprove them.

Even so must their wives be honest, not evil-speakers: but sober and faithful in all things. Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife, and such as rule their children well, and their own households. For they that minister well get them selves a good degree, and great liberty in the faith which is in Christ Jesu.

These things write I unto thee, trusting to come shortly unto thee; but and if I tarry long, that then thou mayest have yet knowledge, how thou oughtest to behave thy self in the house of God, which is the congregation of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth.

And without doubt, great is that mystery of godliness: GOD was shewed in the flesh, was justified in the spirit, was seen among the Angels, was Preached unto the Gentiles, was believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

After this shall be read for the gospel a piece of the last Chapter of Matthew, as followeth.

JESUS came and spake unto them, saying: All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you. And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

Or else this that followeth of the x. Chapter of John.

VERILY, verily, I say unto you: He that entereth not in by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a murdherer. But he that entereth in by the door, is the shepherd of the sheep: to him the Porter openeth, and the sheep heareth his voice, and he calleth his own sheep by name and leadeth them out. And when he hath sent forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice. A stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of strangers. This

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Proverb spake Jesus unto them, but they understood not what things they were, which he spake unto them. Then said Jesus unto them again : Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep. All (even as many as come before me) are thieves and murtherers : but the sheep did not hear them. I am the door : by me if any man enter in, he shall be safe, and go in and out, and find pasture. A thief cometh not but for to steal, kill, and to destroy. I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. I am the good shepherd : a good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. An hired servant, and he which is not the shepherd (neither the sheep are his own) seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth and scattereth the sheep. The hired servant fleeth, because he is an hired servant, and careth not for the sheep. I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine. As my Father knoweth me, even so know I also my Father. And I give my life for the sheep : and other sheep I have, which are not of this fold. Them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.

Or else this of the xx. Chapter of John.

THE same day at night, which was the first day of the Sabbaths, when the doors were shut (when the Disciples were assembled together, for fear of the Jews) came Jesus and stood in the midst, and said unto them : Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the Disciples glad, when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus unto them again : Peace be unto you. As my Father sent me, even so send I you also. And when he had said those words, he breathed on them, and said unto them : Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever's sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them. And whosoever's sins ye retain, they are retained.

When the Gospel is ended, then shall be said or sung.

COME, Holy Ghost, eternal God,
proceeding from above :
Both from the Father and the Son,
the God of peace and love.
Visit our minds, and into us thy
heavenly grace inspire :
That in all truth and godliness, we
may have true desire.
Thou are the very Comforter, in all
woe and distress :
The heavenly gift of God most high,
which no tongue can express :
The fountain and the lively spring of
joy celestial :

The fire so bright, the love so clear, and
 Uction spiritual.

Thou in thy gifts art manifold,
 whereby Christ's Church doth stand :
In faithful hearts writing thy law,
 the finger of God's hand.

According to thy promise made, thou
 givest speech of grace :

That through thy help, the praise of
 God may sound in every place.

O Holy Ghost, into our wits send
 down thine heavenly light.

Kindle our hearts with fervent love,
 to serve God day and night.

Strength and stablish all our weak-
 ness, so feeble and so frail.

That neither flesh, the world, nor de-
 vil, against us do prevail.

Put back our enemy far from
 us, and grant us to obtain :

Peace in our hearts with GOD and man,
 without grudge or disdain.

And grant O Lord, that thou being
 our leader and our guide :

We may eschew the snares of sin,
 and from thee never slide.

To us such plenty of thy grace,
 good Lord grant, we thee pray :

That thou mayest be our com-
 fort, at the last dreadful day.

Of all strife and dissension, O Lord,
 dissolve the bands :

And make the knots of peace and
 love, throughout all Christian lands.

Grant us O Lord, through thee
 to know the Father most of might :

That of his dear beloved Son we
 may attain the sight.

And that with perfect faith also, we
 may acknowledge thee :

The spirit of them both alway, one
 God in persons three.

Laud and praise be to the Father,
 and to the Son equal ;

And to the Holy Spirit also, one God
coeternal.

And pray we that the only Son
vouchsafe his Spirit to send :

To all that do profess his name, unto
the worldes end.

Amen.

And then the Archdeacon shall present unto the Bishop all them that shall receive the order of priesthood that day, *every one having upon him a plain alb.** The Archdeacon saying.

REVEREND father in God, I present unto you these persons present, to be admitted to the order of Priesthood, *Cum interrogatione et responsione, ut in Ordine Diaconatus.*

And then the Bishop shall say to the people.

Good people, these be they whom we purpose, God willing, to receive this day unto the holy office of Priesthood. For after due examination, we find not the contrary but that they be lawfully called to their function and ministry, and that they be persons meet for the same : but yet if there be any of you which knoweth any impediment, or notable crime in any of them, for the which he ought not to be received into this holy ministry ; now in the Name of God declare the same.

And if any great crime or impediment be objected, &c. *Ut supra in Ordine Diaconatus usq. ad finem Litanie cum hac Collecta.*

ALMIGHTY GOD, giver of all good things, which by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed diverse orders of Ministers in thy church, mercifully behold these thy servants, now called to the office of Priesthood, and replenish them so with the truth of thy doctrine, and innocency of life, that both by word, and good example, they may faithfully serve thee in this office, to the glory of thy name, and profit of thy congregation, through the merits of our Saviour Jesu Christ : who liveth and reigneth with thee, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

* These words in italics were omitted in the Form of Ordination printed in 1552.

Then the Bishop shall minister unto every one of them the oath concerning the Queen's supremacy, as it is set out in the Order of Deacons. And that done, he shall say unto them which are appointed to receive the said Office, as hereafter followeth.

You have heard, brethren, as well in your private examination, as in the exhortation, and in the holy lessons taken out of the Gospel, and of the writings of the Apostles, of what dignity, and of how great importance this office is (whereunto ye be called). And now we exhort you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to have in remembrance, into how high a dignity, and to how chargeable an office ye be called, that is to say, to be the Messengers, the Watchmen, the Pastors, and the Stewards of the Lord: to teach, to premonish, to feed, and provide for the Lord's family: to seek for Christ's sheep that be dispersed abroad, and for his children which be in the midst of this naughty world, to be saved through Christ for ever. Have always therefore printed in your remembrance, how great a treasure is committed to your charge: for they be the sheep of Christ, which he bought with his death, and for whom he shed his blood. The Church and congregation whom you must serve, is his Spouse and his body. And if it shall chance the same Church or any member thereof to take any hurt or hinderance, by reason of your negligence, ye know the greatness of the fault, and also of the horrible punishment which will ensue: wherefore consider with your selves the end of your ministry, towards the children of God, toward the spouse and body of Christ, and see that you never cease your labour, your care and diligence, until you have done all that lieth in you, according to your bounden duty, to bring all such as are, or shall be committed to your charge, unto that agreement in faith, and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among them either for error in religion, or for viciousness in life.

Then, forasmuch as your office is both of so great excellency, and of so great difficulty, ye see with how great care and study ye ought to apply your selves, as well that you may shew your selves kind to that LORD, who hath placed you in so high a dignity, as also to beware that neither you your

selves offend, neither be occasion that other offend. Howbeit, ye can not have a mind and a will thereto of your selves, for that power and ability is given of God alone. Therefore ye see how ye ought and have need earnestly to pray for his holy Spirit. And seeing that you can not by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of holy Scripture, and with a life agreeable unto the same ; ye perceive how studious ye ought to be in reading and in learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners, both of your selves, and of them that specially pertain unto you, according to the rule of the same Scriptures. And for this self same cause, ye see how you ought to forsake and set aside (as much as you may) all worldly cares and studies.

We have good hope, that you have well weighed and pondered these things these with yourselves long before this time, and that you have clearly determined, by God's grace, to give your selves wholly to this vocation, whereunto it hath pleased God to call you, so that (as much as lieth in you) you apply your selves wholly to this one thing, and draw all your cares and studies this way and to this end : and that you will continually pray for the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost from God the Father, by the mediation of our only mediator and Saviour Jesus Christ, that by daily reading and weighing of the Scriptures ye may wax riper and stronger in your ministry ; and that ye may so endeavour your selves from time to time to sanctify the lives of you and yours, and to fashion them after the rule and doctrine of Christ ; and that ye may be wholesome and Godly examples and patterns for the rest of the congregation to follow. And that this present congregation of Christ here assembled may also understand your minds and wills in these things. And that this your promise shall more move you to do your duties, ye shall answer plainly to these things, which we, in the name of the congregation, shall demand of you, touching the same.

Do you think in your heart that you be truly called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this Church of England, to the ministry of Priesthood ?

Answer. I think it.

The Bishop. Be you persuaded that the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, through faith in Jesu Christ? And are you determined with the said scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal Salvation but that you shall be persuaded, may be concluded, and proved by the scripture?

Answer. I am so persuaded, and have so determined by God's grace.

The Bishop. Will you then give your faithful diligence always, so to minister the doctrine and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same, according to the commandments of God, so that ye may teach the people committed to your cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same?

Answer. I will so do, by the help of the Lord.

The Bishop. Will you be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word, and to use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick, as to the whole within your cures, as need shall require and occasion be given?

Answer. I will, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop. Will you be diligent in prayers, and in reading of the holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh?

Answer. I will endeavour myself so to do, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop. Will you be diligent to frame and fashion your own selves and your families according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both your selves and them (as much as in you lieth) wholesome examples and spectacles to the flock of Christ?

Answer. I will so apply, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop. Will you maintain and set forwards (as much

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as lieth in you) quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people ; and specially among them that are, or shall be, committed to your charge ?

Answer. I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop. Will you reverently obey your ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom the government and charge is committed over you, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting your self to their godly judgments ?

Answer. I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

¶ Then shall the Bishop say.

ALMIGHTY God, who hath given you this will to do all these things, grant also unto you strength and power to perform the same, that he may accomplish his work, which he hath begun in you, until the time he shall come at the latter day, to judge the quick and the dead.

¶ After the congregation shall be desired, secretly in their prayers, to make humble supplications to God for the foresaid things : for the which prayers there shall be a certain space kept in silence.

¶ That done, the Bishop shall pray in this wise.

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.*

¶ Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY God and heavenly Father, which of thine infinite love and goodness towards us hast given to us thy only and most dear beloved Son Jesus Christ, to be our redeemer and author of everlasting life : who, after he had made perfect our redemption by his death, and was ascended into heaven, sent abroad into the world his Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Doctors, and Pastors, by whose labour and ministry he gathered together a great flock in all the parts of the world, to set forth the eternal praise of thy holy name. For these so great benefits of thy eternal goodness, and for that thou hast vouchsafed to call these thy servants here present to the same office and ministry of the salvation of mankind, we render unto thee

* This versicle and response were omitted in the edition of 1552.

most hearty thanks, we worship and praise thee, and we humbly beseech thee by the same thy Son, to grant unto all us, which either here or elsewhere call upon thy name, that we may show our selves thankful to thee for these and all other thy benefits, and that we may daily increase and go forwards in the knowledge and faith of thee, and thy Son, by the Holy Spirit. So that as well by these thy ministers, as by them to whom they shall be appointed ministers, thy holy name may be always glorified, and thy blessed kingdom enlarged, through the same thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ: which liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the same Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

¶ When this prayer is done, the Bishop with the Priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth orders. The receivers humbly kneeling upon their knees, and the Bishop saying.

RECEIVE the Holy Ghost: Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

¶ The Bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one hand, *and the chalice or cup with the bread in the other hand*, and say.*

TAKE thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments in this congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed.†

¶ When this is done, the congregation shall sing the Creed, and also they shall go to the Communion, which all they that receive orders shall take together, and remain in the same place where the hands were laid upon them, until such time as they have received the Communion.

¶ The Communion being done, after the last Collect, and immediately before the benediction, shall be said this Collect.

* The words in italics were omitted in the edition of 1552, and this rubric ran thus:—"The Bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in his hand."

† The last six words added in 1552.

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MOST merciful Father, we beseech thee so to send upon these thy servants thy heavenly blessing, that they may be clad about with all justice, and that thy Word spoken by their mouths may have such success, that it may never be spoken in vain. Grant also that we may have grace to hear, and receive the same as thy most holy word, and the mean of our salvation, that in all our words and deeds we may seek thy glory, and the increase of thy kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ If the Orders of Deacon and Priesthood be given both upon one day : then shall the *Psalm for the Introit and other** things at the holy Communion be used as they are appointed at the ordering of Priests. Saving that for the Epistle, the whole iii Chapter of the first to Timothe shall be read as it is set out before in the order of Priests. And immediately after the Epistle, the Deacons shall be ordered. And it shall suffice the Litany to be said once.

In this Form for the Ordination of Priests, it should be noted, 1st, that there is a public presentation by the Archdeacon of the candidate for the *order of Priesthood* ; 2nd, that the Bishop who is about to ordain, in his address to the people, expressly mentions his intention to “ receive this day unto the *holy office of Priesthood* ” the persons presented ; 3rd, that the Bishop then proceeds to pray to Almighty God for “ these thy servants *now called to the office of the Priesthood* ; ” 4th, that in the Bishop’s public exhortation to the candidates, he first speaks of them as “ the Messengers, the Watchmen, the Pastors, and the *Stewards of the Lord* ; ” † and then interrogates them, “ Do you think in your heart that you be truly called (α) according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and (β) the order of the Church of

The particular Order of the Priesthood, specifically mentioned in the Form of Ordination.

* Omitted in 1552.

† “ Stewards of thy mysteries,”—Collect for Third Sunday in Advent.

England, to the ministry of Priesthood?" 5th, that the Bishop prays to God that those about to be ordained to execute the "same office" which our Blessed Lord's "Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Doctors, and Pastors" anciently received, may "daily increase and go forward in the knowledge and faith of Thee and thy Son by the Holy Spirit."

Furthermore: in the immediate act of ordination a direction is given that "the Bishop with the Priests present shall lay their hands severally upon every one that receiveth orders," the persons being ordained kneeling, and the Bishop using the form set forth at length on p. 33. Here the ancient rite is substantially followed: 1st, in the use of the English form of the words, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, "Receive the Holy Ghost," by which the grace of the priesthood is by many held to be conveyed; 2ndly, by the power imparted to remit and retain sins; and 3rdly, by the general commission to dispense the Word of God and His Holy Sacraments, in the Name of the Blessed Trinity. Over and above all these details, the explicit belief and general intention of the Church of England is clearly notified in the Preface to the Ordinal.

In the Form under consideration, the ancient rite of Ordination is substantially followed in three particulars.

CHAPTER V.

THE FORM FOR THE ORDINATION OF BISHOPS, 1549.

THE Form of Consecrating of an Archbishop, or Bishop.

The Psalm for the Introits at the Communion as at the Ordination of Priests.*

The Epistle.

THIS is a true saying: if a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth an honest work. A Bishop therefore must be blameless, the husband of one wife, diligent, sober, discreet, a keeper of hospitality, apt to teach, not given to over much wine, no fighter, not greedy of filthy lucre: but gentle, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness, one that ruleth well his own house, one that hath children in subjection, with all gravity; for if a man cannot rule his own house, how shall he care for the congregation of God? He may not be a young scholar, lest he swell, and fall into the judgment of the evil speaker: he must also have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into rebuke, and the snare of the evil speaker.

The Gospel.

JESUS said to Simon Peter, Simon Johanna, lovest thou me more than these? He said unto him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him, Feed my lambs. He said to him again the second time, Simon Johanna, lovest thou me? He said unto him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him, Feed my sheep. He said unto him the third time, Simon Johanna, lovest thou me? Peter was sorry because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus said unto him, Feed my sheep.

¶ Or else out of the tenth chapter of John, as before in the Order of Priests.

¶ After the Gospel and Credo ended first the elected Bishop, *having upon him a surplice and a cope*,† shall be presented by two Bishops, *being also in surplices and copes, and having their pastoral staves in their hands*, unto the Archbishop of that province, or to some other

* Omitted in 1552, "at the Communion" being substituted.

† The words in italics were omitted in 1552.

Bishop appointed by his commission : the Bishops that present him saying.

Most reverend father in God, we present unto thee this godly and well learned man, to be consecrated Bishop.

¶ Then the King's mandate to the Archbishop for the consecration shall be read. And the oath touching the knowledge of the King's supremacy shall be ministered to the person elected, as it is set out in the Order of Deacons. And then shall be ministered also the oath of due obedience unto the Archbishop, as followeth.*

The oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop.

In the name of God, Amen. I N. chosen Bishop of the Church and See of N. do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Archbishop, and to the Metropolitan Church of N. and to their successors. So help me God through Jesus Christ, *and his holy Gospel* ☩.†

[This oath shall not be made at the consecration of an Archbishop. Inserted in 1552.]

¶ Then the Archbishop shall move the congregation present to pray : saying thus to them.

BRETHREN, it is written in the gospel of Saint Luke, that our Saviour Christ continued the whole night in prayer. or ever that he did choose and send forth his xii Apostles, It is written also in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Disciples which were at Antioch did fast and pray, or ever they laid hands upon, or sent forth Paul and Barnabas. Let us therefore, following the example of our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, first fall to prayer, or that we admit and send forth this person presented unto us to the work whereunto we trust the Holy Ghost hath called him.

¶ And then shall be said the Litany, as afore in the order of Deacons.

* The rubric stands thus in the form of 1552 : " Then shall the Archbishop demand the Queen's mandate for the consecration, and cause it to be read. And the oath touching the knowledge of the Queen's supremacy shall be ministered to the person elected, as it is set out in the Order of Deacons. And then shall be ministered also the oath of due obedience unto the Archbishop."

† " And his holy Gospel," with the sign of the cross, omitted in 1552.

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And after this place: That it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops, &c. he shall say.

That it may please thee to bless this our brother elected, and to send thy grace upon him, that he may duly execute the office whereunto he is called; to the edifying of Thy Church, and to the honour, praise, and glory of thy name.

Answer. We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

¶ Concluding the Litany in the end with this prayer.

ALMIGHTY God, giver of all good things, which by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed diverse orders of ministers in thy Church, mercifully behold this thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a Bishop, and replenish him so with the truth of thy doctrine and innocency of life, that both by word and deed he may faithfully serve thee in this office, to the glory of thy name, and profit of thy congregation: Through the merits of our Saviour Jesu Christ: who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

Then the Archbishop, sitting in a chair, shall say this to him that is to be consecrated.

BROTHER, forasmuch as holy scripture and the old Canons commandeth, that we should not be hasty in laying on hands, and admitting of any person to the government of the congregation of Christ, which he hath purchased with no less price than the effusion of his own blood: afore that I admit you to this administration whereunto ye are called, I will examine you in certain articles, to the end the congregation present may have a trial and bear witness, how ye be minded to behave your self in the church of God.

Are you persuaded that you be truly called to this ministration, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this realm?

Answer. I am so persuaded.

The Archbishop. Are you persuaded that the holy scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine, required of necessity for eternal salvation, through the faith in Jesu Christ? And are you determined, with the same holy scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach or maintain nothing,

as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the same ?

Answer. I am so persuaded and determined by God's grace.

The Archbishop. Will you then faithfully exercise your self in the said holy scriptures, and call upon God by prayer for the true understanding of the same, so as ye may be able by them to teach and exhort with wholesome doctrine, and to withstand and convince the gainsayers ?

Answer. I will do so, by the help of God.

The Archbishop. Be you ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word, and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage other to the same ?

Answer. I am ready, the Lord being my helper.

The Archbishop. Will you deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and Godly in this world, that you may shew your self in all things an example of good works unto other, that the adversary may be ashamed, having nothing to lay against you ?

Answer. I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

The Archbishop. Will you maintain and set forward (as much as shall lie in you) quietness, peace and love, among all men ; and such as be unquiet, disobedient and criminous within your diocese, correct and punish according to such authority, as ye have by God's word, and as to you shall be committed by the ordinance of this realm ?

Answer. I will so do, by the help of God.

The Archbishop. Will you shew yourself gentle, and be merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help ?

Answer. I will so shew my self by God's grace.

The Archbishop. Almighty God our heavenly Father, who hath given you a good will to do all these things, grant also unto you strength and power to perform the same ; that he accomplishing in you the good work which he hath begun, ye may be found perfect and irreprehensible at the latter day, through Jesu Christ our Lord. Amen,

40 *Form for the Ordination of Bishops, 1549.*

Then shall be sung or said *Come Holy Ghost*, &c., as it is set down* in the Order of Priests.

That ended, the Archbishop shall say.

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Lord, hear our prayer.†

Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

ALMIGHTY God, and most merciful Father, which of thy infinite goodness hast given to us thy only and most dear beloved Son Jesus Christ, to be our redeemer and author of everlasting life: who, after that he had made perfect our redemption by his death, and was ascended into heaven, poured down his gifts abundantly upon men, making some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors, and Doctors, to the edifying and making perfect of his congregation: grant, we beseech thee, to this thy servant such grace, that he may be evermore ready to spread abroad thy Gospel and glad tidings of reconciliation to God, and to use the authority given unto him, not to destroy, but to save; not to hurt, but to help: so that he as a faithful and wise servant, giving to thy family meat in due season, may at the last day be received into joy, through Jesu Christ our Lord: who with thee, and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth one God, world without end. Amen.

Then the Archbishop and Bishops present shall lay their hands upon the head of the elect‡ Bishop, the Archbishop saying,

TAKE the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness.

Then the Archbishop shall lay the Bible upon his neck,§ saying,

GIVE heed unto reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon these things contained in this book: be diligent in them, that the increase coming thereby may be manifest unto all men. Take heed unto thy self, and unto teaching, and be

* "Set out"—1552.

† Added in 1552.

‡ "Elected"—1552.

§ "Shall deliver him the Bible,"—1552.

diligent in doing them : for by doing this thou shalt save thy self, and them that hear thee.

Then shall the Archbishop put into his hand the Pastoral Staff, saying.*

BE to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf : feed them, devour them not : hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind together the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost. Be so merciful, that you be not too remiss : so minister discipline, that you forget not mercy : that when the chief Shepherd shall come, ye may receive the unmerced crown of glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then the Archbishop shall proceed to the Communion, with whom the new consecrated Bishop *with other*† shall also communicate. And after the last Collect, immediately before the benediction, shall be said this prayer.

MOST merciful Father, we beseech thee to send down upon this thy servant thy heavenly blessing, and so endue him with thy Holy Spirit, that he, preaching thy word, may not only be earnest to reprove, beseech, and rebuke with all patience and doctrine, but also may be to such as believe an wholesome example, in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity, and purity : that faithfully fulfilling his course, at the latter day he may receive the crown of righteousness, laid up by the Lord the righteous judge : who liveth and reigneth, one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

As in the two preceding Forms for ordination, so in the present the office to which the person is to be set apart is several times mentioned : 1st, in the proper Epistle ; 2ndly, in the rubric after the proper gospel ; 3rdly, in the presentation to the consecrating Archbishop or Bishop : 4thly, in the Oath of due obedience ; 5thly, in the special prayer with which the Litany is ordered to be

* This direction is omitted in 1552, and the words " Be to the flock " follow immediately after " them that hear thee."

† Added 1552.

concluded. It is also implied as well throughout the whole series of questions put by the Archbishop who consecrates, as by the terms and sentiments of the respective prayers immediately before and immediately following the act of consecration.

Furthermore ; (α) "Holy Scripture and the old canons" are referred to as the authorities for sound precedents in the work of consecration to the office of a Bishop ; (β) governing, ruling, and punishing the faithful when necessary, are amongst the expressed duties of the office ; (γ) "giving to thy family meat in due season," together with the terms of the exhortation, when the Bible is given to the person consecrated, all suffice to point out the definite character which has been imprinted by the act of consecration.

1. On this office, it may further be remarked, that the form, "Receive ye [or "Take"] the Holy Ghost," was that which our Blessed Saviour Himself made use of when He set apart and ordained His Apostles, without adding such words further as "to the office and work of an apostle." Hence it may allowed, and can be maintained, that all ecclesiastical orders, being bestowed from and by the influence and operation of the Spirit of God, Who being one, hath different operations for different administrations,* the concomitant actions, words, and circumstances therefore must indicate and set forth for which particular administration the help of the Holy Spirit is sought, since that general prayer is substantially made for each and all ; but the official functions being different, the same Holy Spirit works differ-

* 1 Cor. xii. 5, 6.

ently in each. It is obvious, consequently, from the practice of our Blessed Lord, that there is no need to express by words at the actual moment of conferring a particular office, what power is thereby bestowed, because our Saviour did not so express it. If what was said by Him before and afterwards, as determining the sense in which His general commission was bestowed, sufficed then, the same surely may suffice now.

2. The whole Form for the Consecration of a Bishop indicates by very definite expressions what power was conferred by the words "Receive the Holy Ghost," and what public intention was actively made both by the consecrator, properly so-called, and by his assistant consecrating-bishops.

3. In the Roman Church the Consecration of a Bishop is effected with these same words, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*. At the imposition of hands nothing else but this is said. Moreover, in the prayer which immediately follows these words no mention is made of the episcopal function or dignity, while all the other rites and ceremonies made use of are but added for the greater solemnity of the general action, but are not of the essence of episcopal consecration, according both to the principle and historical evidence almost universally accepted by their theologians. For example, in his *Disputationes** Vasquez sets forth this very objection to their own form of episcopal consecration, as not sufficient, because it does not specify the episcopal office and power,—to which objection, however, he most amply answers that though the words do not express it, yet the

* *Disputationes*, CCXL. Cap. v. n. 60,

other circumstances that accompany them both before and after they are spoken, do express it sufficiently. So that the objection, if valuable or valid against the ordinations of the Church of England, are equally valuable and valid against those of the Church of Rome.

4. We should not fail to remember, furthermore, that the ancient forms for consecrating bishops, differing so greatly as they did one from another, and in truth agreeing in nothing but in the use of the imposition of hands with an accompanying prayer or prayers, the Form here set forth is, in these particulars, perfectly in harmony with ancient precedent, substantially identical with the forms used both in East and West for the first ten centuries of the Christian era, and both good and valid for conveying the episcopal character.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EDWARDINE ORDINAL.

THE Forms of Consecration and Ordination for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as given in the preceding chapters, were drawn up, as has been already stated in the second chapter of this book, by a commission of ecclesiastics, legally authorized by 3 & 4 Edward VI. cap. xii., which enacted "That such form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church,* as by six prelates and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, should be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal of England before the first day of April next coming,† should by virtue of that Act be lawfully exercised and used, and none other."

Accordingly the commission was granted, and formally addressed to the following prelates and other learned divines. All the names are printed, and they are printed at length, for obvious reasons :—

Formal commission to Bishops and divines for the revision and rearrangement of the English Ordinal.

* This expression, "other Ministers of the Church"—*i.e.* other than Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, goes to prove that the minor orders were not formally rejected, but more probably fell gradually into abeyance. That minor orders were conferred during the reign of Queen Elizabeth is capable of direct proof. The MS. Register of the diocese of Hereford records the public ordination of four persons to be "Lectores" in 1560—*i.e.* two years after the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

† *i.e.* April 1, 1550.

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York; Edward Bonner, Bishop of London; Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham; Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; John Salcot, Bishop of Salisbury; Richard Samson, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; William Rugge, Bishop of Norwich; Robert Warton, Bishop of St. Asaph; Robert Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle; Henry Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln; John Skyp, Bishop of Hereford; Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Worcester; Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster; Paul Bushe, Bishop of Bristol; George Day, Bishop of Chichester; Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; and Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's.

The following six priests were also members of the commission:—

Richard Cox, D.D., Dean of Westminster; William May, LL.D., Dean of St. Paul's; John Taylor, D.D., Dean of Lincoln; Simon Haynes, D.D., Dean of Exeter; Thomas Robertson, B.D.*; John Redmayne, D.D.,† Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In pursuance of the enactment specified, the Ordinal in question‡ was drawn up, set forth, printed, and published. It was compiled, arranged, and determined by some of the highest dignitaries and officers of the Church of England. The King and his Parliament bore no other part in the matter than legally, properly, and formally to authorise the Bishops and divines commissioned to meet for the alteration of the existing form, to make the

* Afterwards appointed Dean of Durham by Queen Mary.

† Afterwards Archdeacon of Taunton.

‡ Published by Richard Grafton in March, 1549.

alterations, and to give the authority of the law of the land for such changes as they should consider either necessary or politic. This was done. In the Form for the Consecration of Bishops the use of gloves, sandals, and the episcopal ring were omitted. In the Form for the Ordaining of a Priest, the unction of the hands,* and the delivery of a paten with wafers, and of a chalice with wine and water, were the chief ceremonies discontinued. In the Form for making of Deacons, the placing a stole over the left shoulder, and the formal clothing of the candidate with a dalmatic,† were omitted.

Certain changes made, and some ceremonial actions omitted.

Now, whatever may be the opinions entertained with regard to these omissions,—and many may reasonably regret that they were made,—yet no one would maintain that either unction with oil, and the delivery of the *instrumenta Eucharistiæ* in the case of a Priest, or the imposition of a stole in the case of a Deacon, were of the essence of the respective actions. Morinus maintains, with reference to varieties and variations found in old and authentic Rituals, both with regard to age and country, that the ancient bishops unquestionably did not hold themselves bound by each and every precedent in

* In the Pontificals both of Egbert and St. Dunstan the rite of unction of the head and hands in conferring the sacerdotal office is ordered. On the other hand, Pope Nicholas I., surnamed the Great, A.D. 858, writes in one of his Epistles, still extant, that the Roman Church did not then use unction. Vide Morinus, *De Sacris Ordin.* Exerc. vi. cap. 2.

† The old Winchester Pontifical in MS. does not contain directions for clothing the candidate either with tunic or dalmatic, which, prior to the twelfth century, was certainly a rite unknown in the Church of England. It was introduced into the Bangor MS., as is supposed by competent authorities, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

such cases, but that provided the *essentials* were retained, local ecclesiastical authorities were at liberty, for good causes and sufficient reasons, to alter and add as they thought fit. And that this has been done by the authorities of Churches in visible communion with the See of Rome, is admitted by Roman Catholic authors, as will in due course be shown.

2. It is now necessary to point out briefly that the Forms of Consecration and Ordination under consideration were, by full legal authority, with the mutual consent and agreement of Church and State, formally sanctioned for use, and regularly and legally annexed to the "Book of Common Prayer." This may be gathered from a perusal of the statute

The Ordinal
annexed by law
and competent
authority to the
Book of Com-
mon Prayer, of
which it formed
a part.

5 & 6 Edward VI. chapter i., which declares that the Ordinal as set forth, of which a separate edition had been printed for practical use, should "be of like
" force, authority, and value as the same
" like foresaid book, entitled the *Book of Common*
" *Prayer*, was before; and to be accepted, received,
" used, and esteemed in like sort and manner, and
" with the same clauses of provisions and excep-
" tions to all intents, constructions, and purposes,
" as by the Act of Parliament made in the second
" year of the King's Majesty's reign, was ordained,
" limited, expressed, and appointed for the uni-
" formity of service and administration of sacra-
" ments throughout the realm, upon such several
" pains, as in the said Act of Parliament is
" expressed."

3. With regard to this important change, it should not be forgotten that all things done with

regularity, due form, and strict adherence to precedent, by those competent, as well by their offices as by the special commission granted to them, to effect the desired changes. Nor were any objections raised at the period against the validity of the orders of those Bishops and Priests who were ordained by the new forms. Even Bishop Gardiner, in a letter to Bishop Ridley, commends him for “disproving the Pope’s pretended authority”* (as his lordship termed it), and in a letter to Protector Somerset† freely complains of a controversial sermon preached by William Barlow, Bishop of St. David’s, whom he styles “Bishop” and his “brother of St. David’s,” without having the least doubt of the perfect validity of his consecration. Moreover, when Bishop Gardiner was asked by the Protector and Council what opinion he held with regard to the “Book of Common Prayer”‡ (which,

Absence of Objections at the period of these changes, either (α) to their being made, or (β) to the manner of making them as illegal, invalid, or irregular.

* Collier’s Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. fol. 222.

† *Ibid.*, fol. 223.

‡ The following remarks, having an important bearing on this question, are taken from the Preface to Bishop Jeremy Taylor’s *Collection of Offices*: —“For as for the adversaries from the Roman party they were so convinced by the piety and innocence of the Common Prayer-Book that they could accuse it of no deformity, but of imperfection, of a want of some things which they judged convenient, because the error had a wrinkle on it, and the face of antiquity. And therefore for ten or eleven years they came to our churches, joined in our devotions, and communicated without scruple, till a temporal interest of the Church of Rome rent the schism wider, and made it gape like the jaws of the grave.

“And let me say, it adds no small degree to my confidence and opinion of the English Common Prayer-Book, that amongst the numerous armies sent from the Roman seminaries (who were curious enough to inquire, able enough to find out, and wanted no anger to have made them charge home any error in our Liturgy, if the matter had not been unblameable, and the composition excellent,) there was never any impiety or heresy charged upon the Liturgy of the Church

at that time, included the Ordinal under consideration), he replied, "that notwithstanding he would not have drawn it up altogether in that manner himself, yet that he could fairly reconcile it to his conscience, and therefore should officiate by it, and take care to bring others to the same conformity."* Another distinguished divine, Dr. Owen Oglethorpe,† who in the discussions and disputes of the period usually ranged himself with Bishop Gardiner, gave similar testimony, *viz.*:—"That the form and order of religion now set forth was nearer the

(for I reckon not the calumnies of Harding, for they were only in general calling it *darkness*, &c., from which aspersion it was worthily vindicated by Mr. Deering). The truth of it is, the compilers took that course which was sufficient to have secured it against the malice of a Spanish Inquisitor, or the scrutiny of a more inquisitive Presbytery, for they put nothing of controversy into their prayers, nothing that was then matter of question; only because they could not prophesy, they put in some things which since then have been called to question by persons whose interest was highly concerned to find fault with something. But that also hath been the fate of the penmen of Holy Scripture, some of which could prophesy, but yet could not prevent this. But I do not remember that any man was ever put to it to justify the Common Prayer against any positive, public, and professed charge by a Roman adversary—nay, it is transmitted to us by the testimony of persons greater than all exceptions, that Paulus 4tus, in his private intercourses and letters to Queen Elizabeth, did offer to confirm the English Common Prayer-Book, if she would acknowledge his primacy and authority, and the Reformation derivative from him. (*Tortura Torti*, p. 142.) And his successor, Pius 4tus, with an '*Omnia de nobis tibi polliceare*,' he assured her she should have anything from him, not only things pertaining to her soul, but what might conduce to the establishment and confirmation of her Royal dignity; amongst which, that the Liturgy newly established by her authority should not be rescinded by the Pope's power, was not the least considerable. (*Camd. Annal.*, A.D. 1560.)" Vide also *Pope Pius IV. and the Book of Common Prayer*. By E. C. Harington, M.A. London: Rivingtons, 1856.

* Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, fol. 99; and Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, fol. 223.

† Afterwards made Bishop of Carlisle by Queen Mary.

practice of the Apostolical and Primitive Church than that which was formerly used in England.”*

To this important question—the value of contemporary statements† with regard to the changes effected at the Reformation—a separate section will be devoted.

* Collier's History, fol. 306.

† See Appendix, No. I., “Authoritative Statements regarding Ordination in 1537 and 1543.”

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORDINAL OF KING EDWARD VI.—OBJECTIONS.

THIS Ordinal, compiled by ecclesiastics, was published, as approved and legally authorized by the highest authorities in Church and State. King Edward's advisers, in obtaining his Majesty's sanction, had before them no doubt such a precedent for example as that in which the Fathers at Mentz earnestly entreated the Emperor, Charles the Great, that he would by his imperial authority confirm their canons, which related to prayers, litanies, preaching, and the administration of the sacraments.*

Many objections of various kinds and from different quarters—some as to principle, others as to details—have been made against this Ordinal so regularly drawn up and sanctioned. Such must be considered *seriatim*.

1. The first objection, faithfully stated, may be said to take this form :—If the National Church of England, in conjunction with other national Churches, possessed, as no one denies, an Ordinal, the validity of which no one disputes, what necessity existed for substituting a revised form of that Ordinal, some features of which have been the subject of criticism ever since it was first published, and the validity of which many Roman Catholics have denied?

Absence of sufficient and valid reasons for any alterations in the ancient English Pontifical, and reply to the objection.

* Durantus, *De Ritibus Ecclesiæ Cath.*, lib. 2, cap. xxii. note 3.

To this difficulty the following answer* may be given :—

(a) The Reformers, in dealing with the Ordinal—as indeed with the formularies generally—aimed especially at liturgical simplicity. (See the Preface to the “Book of Common Prayer.”) It may be admitted that in particular cases they pressed their principle too far. But the then-existing need for keeping such a principle in view was practically admitted by authorities within the Roman Church, such as Cardinal Quignon. And the modern Roman Breviary and Missal are certainly “simple” if compared with the use of Sarum. The principle of simplicity is indeed agreeable to the highest laws of beauty, and to the distinctive genius and spirit of Christianity.

(β) The *jus liturgicum*, which belonged to single bishops during the first five centuries at least, and which was only limited by the upgrowth of the metropolitan jurisdictions, appears to have extended to everything that was not certainly of Divine institution, or what on St. Augustine’s principle would come to much the same thing, of really universal and apostolical tradition.

The changes then which were made in our formulary might certainly have been made by a primitive bishop or group of bishops. How very modern is the greater part of the Roman “form and matter” of ordination may be gathered from Martene; and the cautious admissions of Perrone should be noticed. (*Tract. de Ordin. c. 4, de S. ordinationis materiâ, formâ, &c.*) Remark especially

* For the reply to this first objection the author is indebted to the Rev. Prebendary Liddon, of Christ Church, Oxford, whom he respectfully and sincerely thanks,

§ 123, “*Sed magna vis viget,*” &c. He there states generally that the scholastic theory about the *porrectio instrumentorum* had to be given up, and that “*communior jam evasit sententia quæ in solâ manuum impositione et oratione sitam esse materiam et formam horum ordinum tuetur.*” * What the “*oratio*” was to be, was itself an open question.

This language indeed was needed in order to cover both primitive and Eastern ordinations admitted by the Roman Catholic Church. But as it may be read, it ought to leave no doubt about the Anglican rite. Perrone indeed takes exception to the English form (*Consec. Episc. Ib. p. 486 n. 1*) on the ground that it contains no *specific* commissions—“*patet nullam in ejusmodi formulâ consecrandi, offerendi, et ordinandi mentionem occurrere.*” But such a rule contradicts his own admission, and would invalidate other orders besides our own. All that can be shown to be *necessary* is that a competent person should lay on hands, specifying in the prayer which he uses at the time, or in some prayer of the whole service, *the object* with which he does so. And this will prove the sufficiency of our rite, before 1662 as well as after it.

In reply then to this first objection it may be said—There being no real doubt about our *form*, the objections to it must be considered on their merits. And something was gained by a vernacular and a simpler service; much was gained by getting rid of rites which do not really belong to the essence of ordination, but were mistakenly supposed to do so. The objections are the objections of imperfect information: and it is sometimes morally right to run

* Vol. 2. p. 480, ed. Migne.

the risk of being misunderstood and condemned, even by good people, in the interests of solid truth, which sooner or later we may hope they will recognise. The only question for us now is whether our form is, and has been, sufficient. Whether something better might not have been hit upon—some less considerable change—is an unpractical question, when we cannot doubt that we have all that is necessary.

Many Church-of-England people have never regarded Roman objections to our form of consecration or ordination as entirely *bonâ fide*. The objection seems to be a specific one, but it is in reality part of a much larger objection directed against the right of a bishop, province, or group of provinces, to deal with any such matters at all, without the authorization and approval of Rome. If our Roman Catholic friends would bring themselves to look at the question on its own merits, and apart from the wholly independent question whether or no the Pope's authority in England is a matter of divine right, they would not find much difficulty in accepting our Ordinal. Until they consent to do this, all our appeals to the East and to the Primitive Church do not touch their real difficulty, which lies against not our orders as such, but against the idea of our whole position. And these are quite distinct questions.

2. A second objection is that the principle on which the ancient Ordinal was revised was neither sound in itself nor faithfully applied. In the first place the principle was not sound (*a*), because little that is definite regarding the form and matter of Ordination is to be found in Scripture, and

The principle on which the Sarum Pontifical was revised both unsound in itself and unfairly applied, with an answer to this objection

therefore Scripture alone, apart from the general tradition of the Church universal, could not be a safe guide. And it was not faithfully applied (β) because while unction, the use of the mitre, &c., were certainly not enjoined in Scripture, which ceremonies were abolished by the Edwardine revisers of the Ordinal, other ceremonies, such for example as the use of the Litany, the hymn *Veni Creator*, the oath of supremacy, and the delivery of a printed Bible, were equally not enjoined by Scripture, but yet were retained or devised anew.

To this objection it may be urged, in general terms, that the revised Ordinal is, on the whole, perfectly in harmony both with the express historical records of Holy Scripture regarding ordination, and also substantially identical in all essential parts and features with the most ancient forms of ordination as existing or as used both in East and West.

3. A third objection, already indirectly alluded to in a previous chapter, may be stated as follows:—

As regards the revised service for the Consecration of a Bishop, it is asserted that the form for conveying the grace of the episcopate is imperfect and insufficient, inasmuch as *the office of a Bishop* is not mentioned contemporaneously with the act of consecration, and that, consequently, the utterance of the words by the consecrator and his assistants, in conjunction with the combined imposition of his hands, and those of his assistants, is an action which, on the principles and practice of the Catholic Church, cannot bestow the episcopal character.

Insufficiency of the new Form to impart the episcopal character; together with an answer to this objection.

To this objection it may be answered that in

conjunction with the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*,* “Receive the Holy Ghost,” the adoption of the actual words made use of by St. Paul, in which he imparted the episcopal character to St. Timothy, with jurisdiction over the faithful at Ephesus,† shows most clearly that it was as well in the mind of those who arranged the form, as in that of those who used it, to confer on the subject to be advanced to the episcopate by and through this form, the character, office, and powers of a bishop. Moreover the prayers before and after that act most distinctly determine both what is intended to be done, and what is actually accomplished.

Furthermore it is most important to remember that in none of the ancient English Pontificals, with the exception of that of Exeter, are there any such words defining the office at the time of the imposition of hands. In the Sarum Pontifical, that which was almost universally followed in substance, though local alterations were sometimes made, the text of the service stands as follows:—

“*Finitâ litaniâ, surgant omnes præter electum. Et duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super cervicem ejus et inter scapulas clausum, et ordinatore super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui episcopi qui*

* It should be here remarked that the formula *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* belongs to the period of the Schoolmen, from which time it has been accepted and used in the Western Church. Morinus expressly affirms that in conjunction with the imposition of hands the ancient forms of ordination both in East and West were only prayers for the gift and descent of the Holy Spirit, almost always invocatory and seldom or never indicative or imperative. Vide *Morinus de Ord.* Latin, in *vet. Form. circ. an.* 1180, p. 338.

† 2 Tim. i. 6, 7. Vide also 1 Tim. iii. 1—7,

adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangant, et dicat ordinator Veni Creator, ut supra in ordinibus. Sequatur: Oremus. Oratio.

Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et inclinatio super hunc famulum tuum cornu gratiæ sacerdotalis, benedictionis tuæ in eum infunde virtutem : per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus.

Per omnia secula sæculorum. Amen."

4. It is further maintained, as another objection, The Revised Ordinal illegally imposed, with an answer to this objection. that the Revised Ordinal was irregularly and illegally imposed on the Church of England, and that consequently ecclesiastical acts and functions done by and through it were in themselves irregular and illegal. To which an answer is given that it is not easy to understand on what defects this objection is supposed to rest. Whether wisely or unwisely, fairly to all sections or unfairly, the Ordinal revised in the reign of Edward VI. was regularly drawn up, legally sanctioned,* and immediately used. On the death of Edward VI., however, the statute 1 Mary, session 2, chap. 2, enacted that the old service, formerly used in the reign of King Henry VIII., was to be revised and practised, *and no other*. One clause of this Act, however, is very remarkable, which declares that it is "provided that all persons of the clergy should be at liberty in the meantime

* It is but right to put on record here the fact that when the measure for legalizing the Ordinal passed the House of Lords the following prelates entered a general protest against it:—Tunstall of Durham, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Heath of Worcester, Thirlby of Westminster, and Day of Chichester.—*Journal of the House of Lords.*

to use either the old or new service," a sufficient indication that the leaders and supporters of the more ancient forms did not judge the revised services to have been defective in essentials, and consequently invalid.

These revised services were restored upon the death of Queen Mary and the accession of Queen Elizabeth, by precisely the same course of regular and legal action as had been formally adopted for their abolition at the death of King Edward VI.

Moreover it may be safely answered to the fourth objection against the Revised Ordinal of King Edward VI., that even were our opponents' case proved,—which, however, we entirely decline to admit,—the question between irregularity and illegality on the one hand, and invalidity on the other, is a question not of degree but of kind. An act may be avowedly irregular and illegal, but yet at the same time perfectly valid; and this, if the allegation of our opponents could be proved, would be the case in the present instance.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORDINAL OF KING EDWARD VI. IN SUBSTANTIAL
HARMONY WITH THE MOST ANCIENT FORMS.

THE Matter and Form for the consecration of a bishop, or for the ordination of a priest or deacon, as set forth in the revised Ordinal, already printed, is the imposition of hands with prayer, used with an intention to do what the Church intends should be done, and these acts can be shown to contain all that is *essential* for conveying Holy Orders. Other impressive ceremonies taught the onlookers, and were expressive, but were not universally practised.*

* (α) As regards the use of GLOVES in the Consecration of a Bishop, great variety of practice is found even in foreign mediæval forms. In the most ancient English Ordinals *no such ceremony is mentioned*. This is likewise the case in the MS. Pontificals of Winchester, Bangor, York, and Exeter. Their use here as elsewhere, however, was ancient, and very common, if not universal; but the putting them on during the service of Consecration was not so. Hugo Victorinus, Durandus, and other less-known authors, have been bold enough to maintain that their use has come down from the Apostles. Other writers, however, hold that the ceremony was generally introduced in the twelfth century, if not later.

(β) With reference to the delivery of the PASTORAL STAFF, the Pontificals of Egbert and St. Dunstan contain directions to that effect. Isidore Hispalensis, in his *Treatise on the Divine Offices*, book ii. sec. 5; the Ven. Bede, *De Septem Ordinibus*; and Hugh of St. Victor, in the 40th chapter of his *Treatise on the Sacraments*, mention the public use of this ceremony. In the revised Ordinal of the Church of England the giving of the Pastoral Staff was at first retained, but omitted in 1552. Pastoral staves, however, have been very frequently used by our prelates since the changes of the sixteenth century. They were used at the consecration of Bishops Poynt and Hooper (Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, pp. 253, 254), likewise in public in the year 1572, (*An Admonition to the Parliament*, p. 4,) by Harsnett, Archbishop of York,

1. As regards the Matter of Ordination, Joannes Morinus, in the third part of his exhaustive treatise on the subject, having considered the teaching of antiquity, the testimony of the Fathers, the decisions of recognised councils, and the various theories of the Schoolmen, sums up as follows :—" So at length, being forced to it, they have betaken themselves to imposition of hands, which alone all the Fathers and all the ancient Rituals, both Greek and Latin, acknowledge "† as the matter of ordination.

The Matter
and Form of
Consecration
and Ordina-
tion.

Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel ; by Archbishop Laud, Bishops Montagu of Chichester, Goodman of Gloucester, Ferne of Chester, Juxon of London, Duppa of Winchester, Frewen of York, Wren of Ely, Cosin of Durham, Morley of Winchester, Archbishop Lindsay of Armagh, and many others. At the present day their restoration has been very general, nearly sixty bishops in communion with the See of Canterbury using them.—Vide *Union Review*, vol. i. p. 270. London : 1863.

(7) As to the delivery of the RING, it is found in Egbert's Pontifical, and in some other Anglo-Saxon forms, but neither Amalarius, Alcuin, nor Rabanus Maurus mention it. Catalani, in his *Commentary on the Roman Pontifical*, vol. i. p. 208, after weighing facts and arguments *pro* and *con*, concludes that its use as a ceremonial act was certainly not general until long after it had been introduced into the German Churches in the thirteenth century ; Coninck, Clericatus, and Zaccharia follow him in this judgment.

(8) The use of the MITRE is very ancient. Not perhaps in its present form, but as an ornament for the head of some distinct character. Sausajus, in the first Book of his *Panoplia Episcopalis*, maintains its extreme, i.e. its apostolic antiquity. So too does Josephus Vicomes in his *Treatise on the Mass*. Cardinal Bona, however, does not follow these writers, nor do Martene and Mabillon. Menardus, Amalarius, Georgius, Bona, and Du Cange have different theories as to its origin, and are not agreed as to its antiquity. That some ornament for the bishop's head, substantially corresponding with the ordinary mitre, more probably such a "crown" as is worn by bishops in the Oriental Churches, or it may have been originally a fillet of precious metal, round a linen cap, was the official head-gear of the Christian bishop, antiquity almost universally testifies. Vide *Durandus*, lib. 3, cap. xiii. sec. 5.

† Itaque tandem coacti ad manus impositionem confugerunt, quam solam agnoscunt Patres omnes, Ritualesque omnes antiqui, tam Græci

The opinion of Gulielmus Durandus,* likewise, that unction and the delivery of the instruments are essential to the validity of ordination, has been almost universally disallowed. Such an opinion, it should be carefully remembered, was in express contradiction to the judgment of Pope Nicholas I. in the ninth century, (A.D. 858—867,) who declared that the use of chrism was unknown “in this Holy Roman Church where by God’s appointment we serve.”† The opinion of Durandus has been disallowed, as the majority of more recent writers maintain; (1) first, because Holy Scripture is altogether silent on the subject; (2) secondly, because the Greek Church has notoriously not used unction in ordination; (3) thirdly, because no trace of the delivery of the instruments can be found in ecclesiastical authorities earlier than the tenth century; (4) fourthly, because no mention of such ceremonies is made in the old rites of the Syrian and Maronite Churches; (5) fifthly, because in the well-known collections of Mabillon,‡ comprising the eighth and ninth *Ordo Romanus*, no such forms are to be found; and (6) sixthly, because, as Alcuin maintains, “It is not found in any authority, either ancient or modern, nor even

Conflicting
opinions and
judgments re-
garding the
same by various
authors.

quam Latini.” Morinus, *De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*, part 3, Exercit. 2, cap. i. § 2, p. 19. Ed. Paris: 1655. Vide also the whole of this part, which follows the reprints of the most ancient Pontificals.

* *Rationale Div. Off.*, lib. ii. cap. ult.

† “Præterea sciscitaris utrum solis Presbyteris an et diaconibus debeant cum ordinantur, manus chrismatis liquore perungi, quod in sancta hac Romana cui, Deo auctore, deservimus ecclesia, neutris agitur. Sed et quia sit à novis legis ministris actum, nusquam nisi nos fallat oblivio, legimus.” *Epistola ad Radol. Bitur.* No. xix. sec. 3. This judgment is formally embodied in the Canon Law.

‡ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, tom. 2.

in the tradition of the Church of Rome,"* whereas the imposition of hands, as practised in the Church of England by authority of the revised Ordinal, being found in some form or another in every ancient Pontifical Office for Ordination and Consecration, it may reasonably be concluded that such imposition of hands is the only essential matter of episcopal ordination.

2. As regards the Form of Ordination, it must, we hold, be admitted, as Fulbertus maintains,† that different opinions, theories, and usages have been current in various parts of the Church. The Form. Conflicting and divergent opinions regarding the same. It is more than questionable, and has constantly been questioned, whether any particular form of words is essential to the validity of the rite. Many writers have plainly maintained that appropriate prayers in general, asking for a particular outpouring of the graces of the Holy Ghost on the person to be ordained, is all that is essential—an opinion based on the well-known diverging practices in ordination of East and West; which, nevertheless, in the judgment of Western theologians, are both equally good and valid. Even as regards the formula *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* it is impossible not to be convinced by the facts, statements, and reasoning which such writers as Morinus and Martene bring together to show that these express and exact words being

The formula *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* neither universally used nor generally held to be of the essence of the Form.

* "Non reperitur in auctoritate veteri neque nova, sed neque in Romana traditione." Alcuin, *De Divinis Officiis*. In *Bibliotheca Patrum*, etc. De la Biguiana, tom. 10, col. 271 B. Ed. Paris, 1654. Sub. tit. *Qualiter Episcopus ordinetur in Romana Ecclesia?*

† Fulbertus Cernotensis, *Epistola* 2. *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

comparatively speaking of only recent date in the Western Church, they, too, are not essential to the validity of ordination. "No ancient Latin Rituals contain these words; they appear nowhere. Even in many of the more modern forms no mention is made of them. . . . Amongst the Latins it is scarcely four hundred years since they began to be adopted. As for the Greeks and Syrians, they neither use them now nor did ever use them then. By no means, therefore, can they be said to pertain to the substance of ordination." *

Without further reference at present to the opinions, convictions, or judgments of individual authors, however eminent, it will be well now to turn to the official acts of ancient Councils, in order that by the Canons enacted, promulgated, and universally received, the mind of the early and undivided Church may be clearly made manifest on the questions under consideration. No ancient council has left on record more valuable testimony as to what was appointed to be done than the fourth Council of Carthage, and no Canons on ordination deserve more careful consideration than these, in which the essentials are precisely identical with those of the Revised Church-of-England forms. The fourth Council of Carthage is usually believed to have been held on the 8th of November, 398. But there is notoriously some uncertainty regarding

* "Nulli Rituales Latini antiqui hæc habent verba, nusquam comparent. Etiam in recentioribus multis nulla eorum mentio. . . . Apud Latinos cœpta sunt usurpari vix ab annis quadragentis. Apud Græcos autem et Syros, nec est nec unquam fuit illorum usus Itaque nulla ratione dici possunt ad ordinis substantiam pertinere."—Morinus, *De Sac. Ordin.*, pars 3, Exercit. 2, cap. ii. § 2, p. 22.

the exact date.* Anyhow, the Canons enacted by it, or the "Statutes of the Church," as they were technically termed, represent an amount of ecclesiastical law and ritual principle deserving the most careful study, to which every known writer on Orders since that period has referred. The *Gelasian Sacramentary* embodies all the rules and directions propounded by this African Council.†

The Fourth Council of Carthage and its Canons on Holy Orders.

It will be well, therefore, to set forth those portions of the Canons which relate to the Consecration of Bishops and to the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, in order to show their substantial identity with the forms in the Revised Ordinal of the ancient Church of England. At the same time the fact should not be passed over that as early as the period in question, *i.e.* the fourth century, specific directions were given by the Canons of this Council of Carthage for the Ordination of (1) a Subdeacon, (2) an Acolyte, (3) an Exorcist, (4) a Reader, (5) a Doorkeeper, (6) a Singer,‡ and (7) a Nun. (*Sanc-timonialis Virgo.*)

The Forms stand as follows :—

CANON I.—Let him who is to be ordained a Bishop be first examined if he be naturally prudent and teachable : if he be temperate in his manners, if chaste in his life, if sober, if he looks to his own affairs, be humble, affable, merciful, and learned ; if he be instructed in the Law of the Lord, and

* Vide Cave's *Hist. Lit.*, i. 369 ; Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book xx. c. 33.

† Muratori, i. 619.

‡ The Roman Catholic Church has suppressed the office and order of "Singer," formally recognised as well by this as by the Council of Laodicea,—thereby showing that local churches possess and have exercised the power to make the same kind of changes which the Church of England thought fit to effect in the sixteenth century.

skilful in the meaning of the Scriptures, and acquainted with ecclesiastical doctrines; and above all things if he assert the Articles of Faith in simple words, that is to say, affirms that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are One God, and teaches that the whole Deity of the Trinity is co-essential, consubstantial, co-eternal, and co-omnipotent; and that every person of the Trinity is fully God, and that all the three persons are One God. If he believe that the Holy Incarnation was neither of the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, but of the Son only: that He who was the Son of God the Father by the Godhead, becoming Man was the Son of His Mother, very God of His Father and very Man of His Mother, who had flesh of the womb of His Mother, and a human reasonable soul. And that both natures, God and Man, were in Him, One Person, One Son, One Christ, One Lord, the Creator of all things that are, and the Author, Lord, and Governor, of all creatures, with the Father and the Holy Ghost; who suffered a true passion in His Flesh, and was dead by a true death of His Body, and rose again with a true resurrection of His Flesh, and a true re-assumption of His soul, in which He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. It must likewise be asked if he believes that One and the same God was the author of the Old and New Testament, of the Books of the Law, the Prophets, and the Apostles. If the devil be not wicked by his will and not by his nature, and if he believes the resurrection of this Flesh, which we now carry, and not any other, and the judgment to come, and that every one shall receive punishment or glory for what they have done in the body. If he does disapprove marriage or condemn second marriage, or blames the eating of flesh. If he communicates with penitents being reconciled. If he believes that in baptism all sins, both that which is originally contracted and those which are willingly committed, are pardoned, and that none is saved out of the Catholic Church. When, being examined in all these things, he is found fully instructed, then let him be ordained bishop, with the consent of the clergy and laity, and the meeting of the bishops of the whole province; and chiefly in the presence, or by the authority, of the metropolitan. And he having undertaken the bishopric in the Name of

Christ must acquiesce in the definitions of the Fathers, and not in his own pleasure or inclinations. And in ordaining him that age is necessary which the holy Fathers appointed in the choosing of bishops.

After this it is appointed how all ecclesiastical offices are ordained.

CANON II.—When a bishop is ordained, let two bishops lay and hold the Book of the Gospel upon his head and neck, and one saying the blessing over him, let all the other bishops who are present touch his head with their hands.*

CANON III.—When a presbyter is ordained, the bishop blessing him and holding his hand upon his head, let all the presbyters who are present also hold their hands beside the bishop's hand upon his head.

CANON IV.—When a deacon is ordained, let the bishop who blesses him alone put his hand upon his head, because he is not consecrated to the priesthood but to the ministry.

It will thus be readily conceded that the essential acts, as solemnly and formally set forth in these African Canons, found a place in the Revised Ordinal of the Church of England, as used from the year 1549 to the year 1662—the period of its re-revision, when it finally assumed the form it bears in the existing Book of Common Prayer.

* The Latin text of Canons II., III., and IV. is here appended, because they describe the act of conveying Holy Orders. They are transcribed from the treatise of Morinus, *De Sacris Ordinationibus*, pars secunda, p. 260 : Paris, 1655 :—

“CAN. II.—Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant, et teneant Evangeliorum codicem supra caput, et cervicem ejus ; et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant.

“CAN. III.—Presbyter cum ordinatur, Episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri qui presentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant.

“CAN. IV.—Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus Episcopus qui eum benedicit manum super caput illius ponat ; quia non ad Sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur.”

CHAPTER IX.

SOME OTHER ANCIENT FORMS FOR ORDINATION.

IN the Apostolical Constitutions,* a collection of documents generally believed to have been made in the fourth century, the Forms preserved for the Consecration of a Bishop and Priest deserve consideration, as being substantially the same as those sanctioned by the Council of Carthage. The Service for the Consecration of a Bishop stands as follows :—

A most Ancient Form for the Consecration of a Bishop, found in the Apostolical Constitutions.

1.—He who is to be ordained a bishop must be one against whom there is no complaint, and who has been chosen by all the people from among the brethren.

2.—When he has been named and approved of, let the people come together and give their consent in conjunction with the presbyters and bishops who are present on the Lord's Day.

3.—But let him who is chief among the bishops ask the presbyters and people whether this is the man whom they desire to be their ruler. And when they all assent, let him again ask them whether they all bear him witness that he is worthy of this great and illustrious government. Whether he has rightly discharged those things which belong to piety towards God ; whether he has observed what is just towards men ; if he has rightly ordered his household, if his conversation be without blame.

4.—And when they altogether bear witness, not for favour but for truth, as in the Presence of God and Christ the judge, the Holy Spirit being also present, and all the Saints and ministering spirits that he is such a man, let the people be asked again the third time whether he is worthy of this ministry, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established ; and when they have agreed the third time that he is worthy, let them be required to give some sign of this, and when they have cheerfully given it, let them hearken.

* For the original text, vide Lib. viii. cap. 4, 5.

5.—Silence being made, let one of the chief bishops, standing near the altar with two others (the rest of the bishops and presbyters praying in silence, while the deacons hold the Gospels open above the head of him who is to be ordained,) say to God,

O Master, Lord, Almighty God, who alone art unbegotten, and without Lord, who art always, and art existing before the world, who art all-sufficient and above all cause or origin, who alone art true, alone wise, alone Most High, invisible to nature; whose knowledge is without beginning, alone good and incomparable; who seest things before they exist, hast knowledge of hidden things, art unapproachable, art without superior, God and Father of Thine only-begotten Son, our God Saviour, who makest all things by Him, provident, caring for all, the Father of mercies and God of all consolation, dwelling in the highest, but regarding all things below. O Thou who givest the laws of Thy Church, through the Incarnate Presence of Thy Christ, by the witness of the Paraclete, through Thy apostles and us bishops present by Thy grace; O Thou who from the beginning hast provided priests to be over Thy people, first Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedec, and Job; who didst set forth Abraham and the rest of the patriarchs, with Thy faithful servants Moses and Aaron, Eliazar and Phineas, appointing from them rulers and priests in the tabernacle of witness; who choosedst Samuel to be a priest and prophet; who didst not leave Thy sanctuary without ministry, who hast pleasure in those whom thou choosest for Thy glory: now also, by the mediation of Thy Christ, pour forth through us the power of Thy commanding Spirit, who is ministered by Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, who was given by Thy mind to the holy apostles of Thee, the Eternal God. Give in Thy Name, O God, who knowest the hearts, to this Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen to be a bishop, to feed Thy holy Flock, and serve Thee in the high-priesthood without blame, ministering day and night; and grant by the favour of Thy countenance that we may gather together the number of the sacred, and offer to Thee the gifts of Thy Holy Church. Grant him, Almighty Master, through Thy Christ, the partaking of Thy Holy Spirit, that he may have power to remit sins according to Thy command, to

give lots* according to Thy institution, and to loose every bond, according to the power which Thou gavest to the apostles, to please Thee in meekness and a pure heart, uncorruptly, without blame or exception; offering to Thee the pure and unbloody Sacrifice, which Thou hast appointed by Christ, the mystery of the New Testament, to be an odour of a sweet smell, through Thy Holy Son, Jesus Christ our God and Saviour, through Whom to Thee in the Holy Spirit, be glory, honour, and worship, now and for ever.

Let the rest of the priests, and all the people with them, say, Amen.

Then let one of the bishops offer the oblation on the hands of the ordained. And in the morning let the newly-ordained be placed on his throne by the rest of the bishops, all kissing him in the LORD, and after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and the Epistles and the Acts, and the Gospels, let the newly-ordained salute the Church, saying,

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

And let all answer,

And with thy spirit.

This salutation being ended, let him address words of consolation to the faithful.

Then followeth the Liturgy.

ORDINATION OF PRESBYTERS.†

A most ancient Form for the Ordination of a Priest, found in the Apostolical Constitutions.

The Office for ordaining a Presbyter from the same source stands as follows:—

Let the bishop lay his hand upon the candidate's head, the presbytery and the deacons standing by, and pray, saying,

O LORD our God Almighty, Who hast established all things in Christ, and through Him dost preserve all things by Thy providence, as their several natures require. (For he who can form a variety of things, can in a variety of ways provide for them, on which account Thou dost take care of immortal beings simply by preserving them in being; of mortals, by succession or propagation; of the soul, by giving it Thy laws

* An evident reference to the election of S. Matthias, Acts i. 26.

† Amalarius, cap. xiii. *De Presbyteris*.

to study; of the body, by supplying its necessities.) Do Thou, therefore, now look down upon Thy holy Church, and enlarge it, and multiply those who are set over it. Give them grace to labour both by word and deed for the edification of Thy people. Look down, also, now upon this Thy servant, elected by the consent of the whole clergy into the order of presbyters; fill him with the Spirit of grace and of wisdom to assist Thy people, and govern them with a clean heart. As Thou didst formerly look down upon Thy chosen people, and didst command Moses to elect elders whom Thou filledst with Thy Spirit; so do Thou now likewise, O Lord, preserving in us the Spirit of Thy grace unfailing, so that full of works fit for healing, and discourse fit for teaching, he may mildly instruct Thy people, and serve Thee sincerely with a pure mind and zealous spirit; and on behalf of Thy people, duly and with purity administer the holy offices; through Thy Christ, with whom to Thee and the Holy Ghost be glory, honour, and worship, for ever and ever. Amen.

Another most ancient Form for the Consecration of a Bishop is contained in the *Missale Francorum*,* which is generally supposed to be of as early a date as the middle of the sixth century, A.D. 550.

Another Form
from the *Missale
Francorum*, as given
by Muratori.

It consists of an address to the faithful, after which stands the following prayer:—

O God of all honours, God of all dignities, which minister to Thy glory in the sacred orders; God who, instructing Thy servant Moses with the affection of a secret friend, among other documents of heavenly culture, commandedst the chosen Aaron to be clothed in a mystical garment at the sacred [acts,] in order that succeeding posterity might gather sense of understanding from the examples of the ancients, that no age might be wanting in instruction of doctrine; and since that kind of significations obtained reverence amongst the ancients, while we have rather trial of the realities than enigmatical

* Muratori, tom. ii. 670.

figures; for the habit of that earlier priesthood was advanced for the service of our mind, and the glory of the High Priesthood is commended to us, not by honourable garments, but by the splendour of souls; for the things which then pleased the carnal wisdom required rather that which was to be understood by them.

Therefore upon this Thy servant [N] whom thou hast chosen to the ministry of the High Priesthood, we beseech Thee, O Lord, largely bestow this grace, that whatsoever those garments signified by the brightness of gold, and splendour of jewels, and variety of all sorts of work, the same may shine in his conversation and actions.

Complete in Thy priest the chief of Thy ministry, and sanctify him with the dew of heavenly ointment, when furnished with the ornaments of complete glorification. O Lord, let this abundantly flow upon his head. Let it run down to the lower parts of the face; let it descend to the extremities of the whole body,* that the power of Thy Holy Spirit may fill him inwardly and clothe him outwardly. Let constant faith, pure affection, and sincere peace abound in him: let his feet be beautiful to publish the word of good tidings, not in persuasive words of man's wisdom, but in manifestation of the spirit and power.

O Lord, we beseech Thee, give unto him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that whatsoever he shall bind on earth may be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he may loose on earth may be loosed in heaven; and whosoever sins he shall retain they may be retained; and whosoever sins he shall remit, do Thou, O Lord, deign to remit.

Grant unto him true humility, perfect patience, that he may not call evil good, nor good evil; nor put darkness for light, nor light for darkness.

Give unto him the episcopal chair, and to govern Thy Church and universal people.† Be Thou his authority, his power, his strength; multiply upon him Thy blessing and Thy grace, that by Thy gifts he may be apt at all times

* Psalm cxxxiii. 2.

† "Ecclesiam Tuam et plebem universam."

to implore Thy mercy, and may obtain grace to be devout.
Through Jesus Christ Thine only Son our Lord. Amen.

These forms, as will be seen, are as remarkable for their simplicity as for their antiquity. The rubrical directions, in all cases, seem to be imperfect. No doubt, however, tradition and custom supplied what was lacking in the actual codex.*

* Vide Bonacina. Disputationes, tom. 1, *De Ordinatione*. Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. ii. cap. 11, § vi.

CHAPTER X.

MEDIÆVAL FORMS FOR CONSECRATION AND
ORDINATION IN THE WEST.

NO one can deny that, in the West, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century the various ancient forms for consecration and ordination received many additions. Old rites lost their ancient simplicity: ceremonial actions, not previously prescribed by authority and set forth in the earliest MS. forms, were introduced with the reasonable and laudable intention of rendering more impressive and pointed those external actions and public services by which the grace of Holy Orders was conferred. To those forms which have been set forth on a previous page were made additions, at once appropriate and beautiful in themselves, which were intended to make manifest to the faithful who witnessed the public service the true nature of the respective offices conferred, as well as the dignity and importance of the character imparted. This was the case, amongst other particulars, with unction, the blessing and giving of the episcopal ring, the delivery of the Eucharistic instruments, *i.e.* the chalice and paten, &c., the clothing with a chasuble, the induing with a stole, and such like appropriate ceremonies. As Amalarius* points out, and as other Western writers allow, these additions were made first in one diocese and then in another. A

The testimony of renowned Latin writers to the manner in which additions were made to the most ancient Forms for conferring Holy Orders.

* De Officiis Ecclesiasticis, cap. ii. 15.

religious order introduced one ceremonial act, which had been traditionally practised previously, into its MS. Pontifical; while in another case, as Clericatus maintains, a diocesan or provincial synod sanctioned the introduction of some other.* All this is likewise admitted and pointed out by Morinus,—the documents in whose learned volume abundantly suffice to prove his facts and establish his theories.

The learned Martene, in the second volume of his treatise *On the ancient Rites of the Church*, makes a long and most exhaustive dissertation on the subject of ordination in general. There were originally nine orders, he maintains, amongst the most ancient churches, but now there are only seven, so regarded, amongst the Latins, and five amongst the Greeks. As to the subjects for ordination and their fitness, the ancient principles laid down by him on sufficient and great authority appear to be in substantial if not exact identity with the principles adopted and acted upon during the last three centuries in the Church of England. While abbots, *chorepiscopi*,† and ordinary presbyters are held by Martene and his authorities competent to give minor orders, a bishop alone can confer the priesthood—a principle and practice in complete accordance both with Anglican law and custom. He shows at some length that anciently the bishops and clergy were elected by the people, or at all events that the people had a voice

Certain facts and principles admitted and accepted by Morinus, Martene, and others, with regard to Ordination.

* Vide Arcudius, *De Sacr. Ord.*, Disp. xx. et seq. Coninck, *De Ordine.*, Disp. xx. resp. 58. And, as regards the ceremonial acts, Georgius, *De Ceremoniis*, cap. x. 33. Amalarius, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, cap. v. et ix.

† Of course *chorepiscopi* had the episcopal character, and were competent to confer holy orders. *Glossa Balsamonis*, pars iii. § 67-73.

in their election, and a veto on their consecration or ordination. His dissertation on the antiquity of the clerical tonsure, its form in general, as well as its varying shape in East and West, with the rites for conferring it, may be passed over, as not directly bearing on the main subject under consideration. So, too, may the forms for bestowing the minor orders.*

1. In the Ordination of a Deacon it is clear that the most ancient rites varied greatly in details, though the express words of the fourth canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage appear to have been mainly followed in all. In several, the bishop alone was directed to place his hand on the head of the subject for the diaconate, and to bless him contemporaneously, with an appointed and specific form of words. In others, of considerable antiquity, the priests present and assisting are ordered to touch the head of the person being ordained deacon, at the same time that the bishop blesses him. One ancient prayer of blessing was, *Emitte in eos quæsumus Spiritum Sanctum*; another *Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi sine peccato custodiet te in Nomine Domini*; a third, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*; while in some forms there was a double imposition of hands, in the first instance with a blessing, in the second with a prayer for grace. The stole was placed over the left shoulder of the deacon, according to certain rites, and hung pendant.† In others the delivery of the stole did not occur at all,

Prayers, rites,
customs, and
forms, in the
Ordination of
a deacon.

* *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, lib. I. cap. viii. art. 8, pp. 17—20.

† In the thirteenth century it began to be usually fastened under the right arm.

but the Book of the Gospels was given to the person ordained ; while, according to certain other Western forms, both the stole and Book of the Gospels were alike delivered. This latter custom appears to have obtained both in Germany and England as early as the tenth century, and in Spain during the eleventh. The clothing of the deacon with the dalmatic or tunic, as regards the general practice of the Western Church, was of still later introduction. On the other hand, the solemn consecration of the hands of the deacon was enjoined in the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, and was certainly practised in some parts of North Italy soon after the commencement of the eleventh century.

2. In the Ordination of a Priest the very ancient forms already given were, as Morinus and Martene allow, almost universally followed for the first ten centuries of the Church's existence. Originally the rites in general use were simply the imposition of hands, with a varying, but by no means universal, form of prayer and blessing. Later, that is about the end of the eleventh century, additions had become sufficiently general under particular jurisdictions to warrant either substantial and considerable revisions of the more ancient forms, or the introduction of new directions for the use of additional ceremonies in particular localities.

Prayers, rites,
customs, and
forms in the
Ordination of
a Priest.

The six details given by Martene* as common to the Ordination of Priests in the Western Church during the middle ages are as follows :—

1. The imposition of hands with prayer.

* Lib. I. cap. viii. art. ix. sec. 10. See also Amalarius, cap. xii. *De Diaconis*.

2. The delivery of a chalice and paten.
3. The vesting of the candidate in the crossed stole (*stola*) and chasuble (*casula*).
4. The use of sacred unction on the hands, on the head, or on both.
5. The promise of obedience to the bishop.
6. The receiving of Holy Communion at the time of ordination.

Of these, however, after a prolonged dissertation, only the first is regarded as, and determined to be, absolutely and unquestionably essential to a valid sacerdotal ordination.

With regard to the delivery of a chalice and paten, though this rite is represented as desirable, expressive and solemnly interesting by Hugo Victorinus,* Peter Lombard,† Durandus,‡ and other authors of the period of the Schoolmen; yet their language, strong as it is, does not go so far as to maintain it to be such an essential as the imposition of hands.

In reference to the practice of vesting the candidate in a stole, crossed on the breast, and a chasuble, though in some instances this ceremonial rite may have been ancient, yet its general use was certainly not so. It occurs in the *Sacramentary of St. Gregory*, though nothing is there stated as to the simultaneous delivery of the stole at the time of ordination. Some ancient canons, on the other hand,§ refer to the general use of the stole by the

* *De Sacramentis*, lib. ii. part iii. cap. 12.

† *Dissertationes*, lib. iv. sec. 24.

‡ *Rational. Div. Off.*, cap. x. n. 11.

§ *Canones Concilii Triburiensis*, can. xxvi. *Acta Concilii Moguntini*, A.D. 813, can. xxxviii.

priest during any public service, and certain venerable authors* attest the frequency of its use by the clergy in public as a symbol of their ministerial character and as a token of dignity. Of its use however in the manner set forth by Martene, as a supposed essential of the form for the ordination of a priest, satisfactory authorities certainly appear to be wanting. And the same, however expressive the ceremony, is true of induing the candidate for the priesthood with a chasuble.

The use of unction, as has already been shown, though ancient was by no means general. The testimony of Pope Nicholas I. has already been set forth, and Martene produces but little which can in any degree warrant its being regarded as an essential part of the valid ordination of a priest. In the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiæ Rotomagensis*, an anointing of the hands is directed to be made; while, as may be seen from the Pontifical of Egbert, it was sometimes customary in England to anoint the head. Later writers than Martene, while pointing out and advocating its antiquity—producing however but few facts to support the assertion—do not venture to maintain that unction was generally practised in the West before the twelfth century.†

The promise of obedience to the consecrator, being or representing the primate or metropolitan, is a detail in the service of ordination of some antiquity. It is found prior to the act of ordination in some ancient Pontificals,‡ and appears to have

* John of Salisbury's *Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury*.—*Life of S. Odo, Abbot of Cluny*. Amalarius, cap. xvi. *De non utendis vestibus sacris in quotidiano usu*.

† Martene, lib. i. cap. viii. art. ix. sec. 14, 15.

‡ "Superest obedientia, quam post communionem proprio episcopo

been almost universally practised in the middle ages. Both mediæval and modern writers allow it to be seemly, fitting, and desirable; though few affirm it to be more than this. It is retained, as will have been observed, in the revised Ordinal of the Church of England.

As regards the direction by which the bishop ordaining and the person or persons ordained are enjoined to receive the Holy Communion together, there can be no doubt that the practice in England during the last three centuries has been in perfect accordance with that which generally obtained from the very earliest ages of the Christian Church until the sixteenth century. With reference to communion in both species, universally practised here during the recent period specified, it will be found on examination that the custom, though not current generally in Western Christendom, was retained for a long period after communion in one kind had become general, in some parts of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Holland, on the occasion of the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons.*

In regard to the age when a subject was held fit to be promoted to the respective offices of deacon and priest, ecclesiastical customs notoriously varied. The third Council of Carthage appointed the age of twenty-five† as that when the diaconate should be

promittunt ordinati presbyteri. Qui ritus in antiquioribus Pontificalibus non compareret; in scriptis tamen ab annis circiter 700 præscribitur, non tamen in fine missæ sed ante ordinationem, episcopo ordinandum interrogante hoc modo, *Vis episcopo tuo ad cujus parochiam ordinandus es obediens et consentiens esse secundum justitiam et ministerium tuum?* Cui ille respondebat *Volo*."—Martene, lib. i. cap. viii. art. ix. § 21. Vide also, from another point of view, *Acta Concilii Cabilonensis*, can. xiii. * Ibid., sec. 19. † A.D. 397, can. iv.

conferred, and thirty for those seeking the office and work of a priest; later councils mainly followed this rule. In England no material change was made during the sixteenth century. Prior to that period dispensations were very frequently given to enable subjects not sufficiently old to obtain ordination: since that time, however, such dispensations have been made very much less frequently,* though still occasionally granted. In England, the primates of the two provinces alone can grant them.

Martene sums up what is essential for the ordination of a priest in the eighteenth section of the ninth article of his treatise—a conclusion which harmonises completely with the principles which underlay the revised Ordinal of the English Church from the year 1549 to its final revision in 1662, and which equally characterises it in its existing form. He thus states his decision:—“Cum igitur materia presbyteratus dici non possit traditio instrumentorum, nec consequenter forma verba illa solemnia, quæ tunc profert cum illa tradit episcopus; restat ut totam ejus essentiam in impositione manuum et orationibus, quæ consequenter recitantur, tertia præsertim prolixa, quæ per modum præfationis cantatur, in antiquis Pontificalibus *Consecratio* dicta, constituamus. Hanc solam hactenus agnoscunt omnes Orientales, hanc solam Patres antiqui, hanc solam Scriptura.”†

* Vide Canons xxxi. to xli. of *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated of by the Bishop of London, President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, etc.*, A.D. 1603. London: Robert Barker. 1604.

† Martene. Lib. I. cap. viii. art. ix. sec. 18.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

IT is very frankly allowed by several mediæval writers on Ordination, who are followed by Martene and others, that according to the most ancient documents, the only essentials in the consecration of a bishop are the imposition of hands of a bishop with some form of words, which, taken in conjunction with the prayers which are said before and after the act, express the office to which the person being consecrated is promoted.*

This will be seen from the following facts and considerations.

Since the visible separation which took place between the ancient Church of England and the rest of Western Christendom in the sixteenth century, several attempts have been made to promote a

* Vide (α) *Ordo Observandus in Ordinatione Episcopi secundum Clementem Romanum*. Morinus. Pars II. pp. 22, et seq. (β) *MS. Ritus Ecclesiæ Parisiensis*. (γ) *De Sacris consecrationis, ex operibus Dionysii Areopagitæ*. Ibid. p. 52. (δ) *Ordinatio Episcopi*, Codex Barberini. A Latin transcript of this MS. given by Morinus stands as follows:—"Post Trisagion, cum Psaltæ de Ambone descenderint, stat archiepiscopus in crepidine ante sanctam mensam, ipsique charta datur in qua scriptum est:—Divina gratia quæ semper infirma curat, et deficientia complet, promovet hunc N. Deo amabilem Presbyterum in Episcopum. Precemur, igitur, ut super ipsam veniat Spiritus Sancti gratia. Hanc chartam, sive decretum, omnibus audientibus legit, manum tenens super verticem capitis illius qui ordinatur." (ε) Amalarius *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*. Libri. IV., in loco. (ς) Juenin G. *Commentarius Historicus et Dogmaticus de Sacramentis*, in loco. Lugduni, 1717.

better understanding between the authorities of both communions. One Roman Catholic author, Dr. John Scudamore,* who died in 1635, especially

* The author of the document given at pp. 84-87 was John Scudamore, D.D., alias John Jones. He was a member of the ancient family of Scudamore, of Kentchurch, in Herefordshire, was educated at Westminster (Antony à Wood writes Merchant Taylors'), and St. John's College, Oxford, intending to go to the bar. On the sudden death of his parents and brothers in London by the plague, he altered his plans, and resolved to dedicate himself to God in the ecclesiastical state. Accordingly, having graduated B.C.L. at Oxford, he proceeded to the college of St. Alban, at Valladolid, and went through a systematic course of theology. After his ordination he joined the Order of St. Benedict, at the Monastery of St. Martin, in Compostella, taking, in religion, the name of Leander. He was a distinguished scholar, and possessed a remarkable acquaintance with Oriental languages and the customs of the Eastern Church. Later in life he returned to England, where he was employed by the authorities at Rome to give a true and accurate report of the state of the ancient national Church, and if possible promote a Re-union. He was a warm friend, sincere admirer, and hearty ally of that distinguished prelate and statesman Archbishop Laud, both having been members of St. John's College at the same time. Father Leander's society was much sought after by literary men, both in London and Oxford, and he was constantly found and welcomed at the Court of Henrietta, Queen-Consort of Charles I. At the second general chapter of the congregation of English Benedictines (which congregation had been solemnly restored by Paul V., in a *Breve* dated 24 Dec., 1612,) holden at Douay, July 2nd, 1621, he was formally appointed Prior of St. Gregory, and re-elected at the fourth general chapter, held in 1629. He was also titular "Prior of the Catholic Church of Canterbury," spiritual director of the Benedictine nuns of Cambray, and abbot-designate of Cismar, in Germany. After discharging most efficiently the various duties of his sacred offices, and winning for himself, by the kindness of his manner, the moderation of his policy, and the integrity of his character, the highest opinions both from prelates of the Church of England and Roman Catholic authorities, he died in London on the 27th of December, 1635, and was buried with great solemnity in the recently-consecrated chapel of Somerset House. Only a year previously he had sent to the Pope most favourable reports of the state of the ancient Church of this country; and in conjunction with Windebank, one of the Secretaries of State, had done much to promote a feeling of charity and a desire for Corporate Re-union between the several leading members of the separated communions.—Vide Preface to Harpsfield's *Church History*, Doway: 1622; Wood's *Athenæ*

deserves mention as having, in answer to a request from Windebank, Secretary of State in the reign of Charles I., given a very precise, formal, and explicit statement of what, according to the mind of the Roman Catholic Church, was held to be essential for the valid consecration of a bishop. This document, drawn up at a time when proposals for Reunion were under consideration, being of value and importance, is reprinted in its entirety:—

“Right Honorable, I do answer the questions which your Honor propounded unto me, not without fear and trembling ; since the first of them is a point that may give distaste, and I am wonderful loath to give any ; yet because your Honor commandeth me, I will, having God and a good conscience before my eyes, answer directly what I know to be the certain and received doctrine of the Latin and Greek Churches ; which are of most extent, and have been most careful in conserving their ancient traditions, the other Southern and Oriental Churches being, through tyrannical subjection and mere barbarity of their inhabitants, subject to great defects and ignorance in their rites and ceremonies.

“*Quest. I.* What is absolutely necessary to Bishopdom, or the ordination of a bishop : *without* which the ordination were frustrate, and *with* which it were substantially and essentially valid ?

“*I. FIRST.* That the party to be consecrated be a Christian man ; for women are incapable of Holy Orders, and *baptismus est janua Sacramentorum* ; so that whosoever is not baptised truly is incapable of any other sacrament, much more of this most excellent order. And I remember some

Oxoniensis, ed. Bliss, London : 1815, lib. ii. p. 603 ; Dodd's *Church History*, edited by M. A. Tierney, F.R.S., Appendix to vol. iv., London : 1841. Preface to Smyth's Catalogue of Sir Robert Cotton's Library, p. 28. *Canterbury's Doom*, by W. Prynne. *Oliver's Collections, etc.*, London : 1857, p. 476 ; *On the Future Unity of Christendom*, by A. L. P. de Lisle, London : 1857, p. 7.

forty years since, in Spain, I was credibly informed of a bishop newly consecrated, who, by an unexpected chance, came to know that he was baptised only in the name of God and Our Lady; whereupon he was baptised in the wonted necessary form, and consequently received confirmation and Orders, because what had before been conferred was invalid for want of baptism.

“ Confirmation is necessary also *necessitate præcepti*, but not absolutely; so that one christened but never confirmed may be a valid bishop; but the defect being once known, he must receive confirmation from another bishop. The fall of Novatus in schism against St. Cornelius was by many attributed to this defect, that he was ordained bishop by his faction, before he was confirmed; yet he was a true bishop though unlawfully ordained.

“ II. The consecrator must also be a true bishop and have intention to perform what Holy Church intendeth by this rite, and use the matter and form which is received in the Church; otherwise he conferreth nothing valid. This intention is to be conformable to the acception or signification of the name of Bishop received among Catholics: that is, he must intend to confer that power which the Catholic Church always understood to belong to the name and office of a bishop. If these three things be observed by the consecrator he conferreth validly the order of bishopdom, although himself, or the party to be consecrated, were an heretic, schismatic, or excommunicated person; for *Sacramenta non pendent ex fide ministri, nec suscipientis*, so that both do intend to give and take what the Holy Church intendeth by the Sacrament.

“ III. Both consecrator and he that is to be consecrated must first have received the power of the priesthood; that is, of sacrificing the sacrifice of the altar, and of absolving penitents from their sins. For in all the Church of God, and through all the world, *Sacerdos* and Presbyter, ‘Ιερεὺς, principally signify a sacrificer; for which cause the Puritans refuse the name of Priest, because they acknowledge no sacrifice but the bloody sacrifice of the Cross, and consequently but one only priest, Christ Jesus. In my native language of Wales they

have no other name for a priest but '*Offeiriad*,' which is an offerer or sacrificer. So that if this power of priesthood be not first given, the party is not capable of bishopdom, which differs from priesthood as *continens a contento*. Some think also that the party to be consecrated ought to have all the inferior orders first; but that is only *de necessitate præcepti*, and not *de necessitate medii*. Myself have seen in Spain, when a counterfeited Armenian bishop came by the Abbey of Montserret, of St. Bennet's order, and there at the abbot's entreaty had made two of his religious sub-deacons, and after deacons (who were by the diocesan Bishop afterwards ordained priests), that the said two religious were sent a hundred leagues off, to the place where I then lived, to be ordained again of the orders of sub-deacon and deacon: for the rule of the Church in such cases is, *Ut cautè suppleatur, quod negligenter, vel ignoranter fuerit omissum*: and in like case, but much more necessarily, if a bishop were ordered before he were made priest, he ought *de necessitate sacramenti* to be ordered priest, and the order of bishopdom ought to be given again, at least *sub conditione*, '*Si non accepisti consecrationem ego tibi confero*'.

"IV. These above-mentioned things are required necessarily to the substance of this sacrament, because without them the essence of the sacrament cannot be validly introduced into the subject. Now the essence consisteth in the imposition of the hands of one or more bishops: (for one will serve in necessity, as when St. Augustin, our apostle and Archbishop of Canterbury, ordained St. Justus Bishop of Rochester, having no other bishop then to assist him; but out of case of necessity, there ought to be three bishops at least,* two to assist the consecrator:) which imposition of hands or *χειροτονία* is the material sign or ceremony, accompanied, for more expression, with other signs, *traditio baculi pastoralis, mitræ*, etc., and in the words wherewith the consecrator expresseth that

* With regard to the desirability of a bishop being consecrated by a metropolitan and at least two comprovincial bishops, vide *Theodoret, Hist. Ecclesiæ*, cap. 9. *Evagrius*, lib. iii. cap. 6. *Eusebius*, lib. vii.; and *Martene*, lib. i. cap. viii. art. iii. sec. 5.

he giveth power of bishopdom to the party consecrated,* and these words are called the Form of the Sacrament, which in the Greek Church are simply, That God's grace by the consecrator's ministry, and consent of his fellow-bishops, promoteth such a venerable priest N. to the dignity of Bishop : in which is sufficiently expressed the power of bishopdom ; which according to the signification received in all the Greek Churches, and understood so by all, containeth power of sacrificing, absolving from sins, confirming, ordering, jurisdiction over his church and flock, etc. But the form of the Latin Church is more expressive ; setting down particularly, in the form itself, or in the precedent [preceding] instruction or following prayers, all the powers and functions of a Bishop.

* * * * *

Your Honour's obliged Servant,

JOHN SKIDMORE.

An Original.

Endorsed by Windebank. " April 15th, 1635."†

* " Nam verba illa *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, quæ ante prædictam præfationem cum manus impositione ab ipso consecratore proferuntur, in quibus formam episcopatus reponunt scholastici recentiores, toti antiquitati ignota fuerunt, adeo ut vix in ullo Pontificali annos 400 attingente reperiantur." *Martene*, lib. i. cap. viii. art. x. sec. 14.

† In connection with this document it may be interesting to append extracts from two formal Reports, regarding the state of the Church of England, from the pen of Father Leander, because they certainly appear to imply a belief in the validity of Anglican orders :—" Primo enim ecclesia Protestantium in Angliâ retinet externam speciem Hierarchiæ Ecclesiasticæ, quæ temporibus Catholicæ professionis vigit: archiepiscopos, episcopos, decanos, archidiaconos, capitula canonicorum cathedralium in ipsis antiquis sedibus, seu ecclesiis cathedralibus, cum redditibus amplissimis obtinet; nomina etiam eadem parochorum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, in antiquis beneficiis seu parochiis conservat: certam formam ordinationum sacrarum magnâ ex parte cum formis in Pontificali Romano præscriptis convenientem; vestes præterea clericales, superpellicia, rochetas, cappas et ipsa templa parochialia, cathedralia et collegiata magnificæ structuræ adhuc frequentanda servarunt." *Apostolicæ Missionis Status in Angliâ*, a Report to Cardinal Barberino, written by Father Leander. Clarendon's State Papers (A.D. 1634), vol. i. p. 197, Oxford: 1767. And again, to the same effect :—" They agree in all the doctrine of the Trinity, and Incarnation, and true

So much for the judgment of one who at once knew the weak and strong points of the Church of England, and was so strictly just and impartial in his judgment, that he was mistrusted by certain of those who desired a sweeping condemnation for their theological opponents.*

Deity of our Blessed Saviour; in the points of providence, predestination, justification, necessity of good works, co-operation of free-will with the grace of God: they admit the first four General Councils, the three authentic symbols of the apostles, Nice and Constantinople, and of St. Athanasius, as they are received in the Roman Church: they reverence the primitive Church, and unanimous consent of the ancient fathers, and all traditions and ceremonies which can be sufficiently proved by testimony of antiquity; they admit a settled liturgy, taken out of the Roman [i.e. Sarum] Liturgy; distinction of orders, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in distinct habits from the laity; and divers other points in which no transmarine Protestants do agree."—Windebank's MS. in the handwriting of Father Leander, (A.D. 1634.) Ibid., vol. i. p. 207.

* Another writer, "Gaspardus Jueninus," Gaspard Juenin, a French theologian of the seventeenth century, agrees so entirely with Father Leander, that a long extract from his *Dissertations on the Sacraments* is added here. This Juenin was a most distinguished priest of the French Oratory, and Professor of Theology in the Seminary of Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris. His treatise *De Sacramentis* was formally approved by the Rev. Dr. Paul de Cohade, Doctor of the Sorbonne in 1695, as also by the very Rev. Abel Louis de Sainte Marthe, Provost-General of the Congregation of the Oratory, in the same year. It passed through many editions at Lyons, and was afterwards printed at Venice. For several generations it served as a text-book in theology for the French clergy. It should be stated that at the end of the Preface the author submits all his conclusions and statements to the judgment of the Holy See. He thus writes of the matter and form of the Episcopate (*De Sacramentis. Dissertatio IX. Cap. Tertium, De ordinibus in specie*, p. 559. Ed. Venetiis: 1740):—

"Conclusio I. Materia episcopatus non est posita in traditione annuli, aut baculi pastoralis, neque in impositione libri Evangeliorum super caput ordinandi, neque in unctione, sed in sola impositione manuum.

"Probatur prior pars I. In Ecclesia Latina adhibita semper non fuit traditio annuli et baculi pastoralis; eam enim concilium quantum Carthaginense habitum desinente sæculo quarto cum describit ritum ordinationis Episcopalis non recenset.

"2. In Ecclesia Græca nec modo est in usu, nec fuit antiquitus cum

nec Patres Græci de consecratione Episcoporum loquentes, nec Euchologia illius meminerint.

“Probatur altera conclusionis pars. Primo. Apostolici conferentes episcopatum non adhibuerunt impositionem libri evangeliorum, id enim nec ex Scripturâ nec ex traditione patet, aut probari potest. 2. Ubique non fuit in usu illa libri evangeliorum impositio, licet enim in Ecclesia Africana observata fuerit sæculo quarto cum illam referat quantum Concilium Carthaginense, tertio tamen nondum adhibebatur; nullum enim est monumentum quo id possit probari. Ecclesiam Romanam illo eodem ritu primis sæculis usam non fuisse docet Alcuinus in Lib. De Divinis Officiis, quem circa annum Christi 760 conscripsit; Germanos ineunte nono sæculo eum ritum non adhibuisse testatur Amalarius, Lib. 2, De Officiis Ecclesiasticis, cap. 14, ubi hæc habet—*Dicit Libellus* (id est *Ordo Romanus*) *secundum cujus ordinem celebratur ordinatio apud quosdam, ut duo episcopi teneant Evangelium super caput ejus, quod neque vetus autoritas intimat, neque canonica autoritas.*

“Probatur tertia pars. Primo. Nec Presbyterorum nec Episcoporum unctio apud Græcos unquam fuit in usu: nullum enim illius extat vestigium aut in authoribus Græcis aut in Euchologiis; et si aliquis scriptor Græcus de unctione materiali quidpiam dixisse videatur, facile (ait Morinus) de spiritali explicatur. Secundo. Quamvis apud Latinos sit antiquissima episcopalis unctio, utpote recensita a S. Leone, Serm. VIII., *De Passione Domini*, a Gregorio Magno in primi Libri Regum caput decimum; ubique tamen non obtinuit. Africani Patres in Concilio quarto Carthagenensi de illa Episcopali unctione omnino silent, licet multa alia ad episcoporum consecrationem pertinentia referant. In Hispanicis Conciliis ante septimum sæculum celebratis nulla quoque illius fit mentio.

“Probatur quarta pars. Semper et ubique in conferendo Episcopatu adhibita fuit impositio manuum. Primo. Ea usum fuisse Paulum in Ordinatione Timothei testantur ambæ illius ad eum Epistolæ. 2. Concilium quartum Carthaginense eam usurpandam esse docet. 3. Patres qui usque ad sæculum octavum scripsere, ordinis episcopalis collationem per eam designant. 4. Illi manuum impositioni adscripta fuit a Scriptoribus sacris productio Spiritus Sancti—*admoneo te* (inquit Paulus 2 ad Timoth. 1) *ut resuscites gratiam Dei, quæ est in te per impositionem manuum mearum.* Idem docet Chrysostom in hunc locum, multique alii authores.

“Conclusio secunda. Hæc verba prolata ab episcopo consecrante dum tradit evangeliorum codicem, *Accipe Evangelium et vade, prædica populo tibi commisso, potens est enim Deus et augeat tibi gratiam suam*, non sunt apud Latinos forma episcopatus. Nec ista alia *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, quæ consecrator episcopus, et ejus adsistentes proferuntur, dum manibus tangunt caput ordinandi, sed sunt orationes per quas invocatur Spiritus Sanctus.

“Probatur prior pars. Primo. Ante prolationem illorum verborum

de quibus agitur, Episcopus in Pontificali Romano dicitur consecratus. Secundo. Nulli Rituales ante quingentos annos scripti, nullique authores ea verba aut æquivalentia commemorant. Tertio. Eis aut similibus non utuntur Græci, sed solis Latinis propria sunt.

“Probatur altera pars I. Hæc verba *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, nullus author per tredecim priora sæcula retulit, licet ceremonias quæ ad ordinationes spectant, plures minute prosecuti fuerint. Secundo. Apud solos Latinos, idque a quadringentis tantum abhinc annis usurpantur.

“Probatur tertia pars. Primo. Semper usurpatæ fuerunt, et nunc ubique usurpantur orationes, per quas invocatur Spiritus Sanctus super eum qui ordinatur in episcopum. Secundo. Illæ orationes expriment effectum ordinis episcopalis, scilicet, collationem Spiritus Sancti, seu gratiæ necessariæ Episcopo, ut digne imposito sibi onere perfungatur. Tertio. Illi Spiritus Sancti invocationi S. Patres adscribunt effectum episcopatus. Hæc enim ait Augustinus, lib. 5 de Baptismo contra Donatistas, cap. 20. *Si ergo ad hoc valeat quod dictum est in Evangelio, Deus peccatorem non audit, ut per peccatorem Sacramenta non celebrentur, quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super Eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum, quibus manus imponitur?* Sic etiam super gestis cum Emerito. *Invocatio Nominis Dei super caput ipsorum quando ordinatur Episcopi, invocatio illa dei est, non donati.* Iis locis S. Doctor probat contra Donatistas effectum ordinationis, et quidem Episcopalis, cujus expresse meminit, non pendere a sanctitate ministri, sed a nominis divini invocatione, seu a precibus, quibus in ordinandum divina potentia a ministro ordinante advocatur.

“Conclusio Tertia. Hæc verba, quæ consecrans Episcopus Græcus profert ex præscripto Euchologii: *Divina gratia quæ semper infirma sanat, et quæ desunt supplet, creat seu promovet Dei amantissimum Presbyterum in Episcopum*, non sunt forma Episcopatus apud Græcos, sed oratio per quam Spiritus Sanctus invocatur ab episcopo consecrante, dum ordinando manus imponit.

“Probatur prima pars. Verba de quibus est quæstio, nihil aliud sunt quam electionis factæ ab episcopis comprovincialis publica denunciatio: cui similis olim fiebat apud Latinos, ut videre est in ordine Romano edito, sub titulo: *Qualiter in Romana Ecclesia sacri ordines fiunt.* Secunda verba ista *Precamur igitur pro eo ut in ipsum veniat sanctissimi Spiritus gratia*, etc., de electo Episcopo proprie dicuntur, de eo vero qui jam consecratus est, non nisi improprie dici possunt.

“Probatur altera pars iisdem rationibus, quibus supra probatum fuit illam orationem nunc esse apud Latinos, et fuisse semper germanam episcopatus formam.”

CHAPTER XII.

EASTERN FORMS OF ORDINATION.

AS will have been seen already, the most ancient forms of ordination which exist, common to both Orientals and Occidentals, are those which simply direct the consecrator to lay on his hands, at the same time that he uses a prayer or prayers supplicating the grace of the Spirit of God on behalf of the person ordained. Examples of these forms have already been given. They were severe in their simplicity, because as several commentators, both Eastern and Western allow, ceremonial acts over and above those directed by the MS. service books to be done, were frequently performed in accordance with the certain tradition of primitive ages.* The words used by our blessed Lord in giving a commission to the apostles, were no doubt handed down, as a part of the due form of the act of ordination of the stewards of Christ's mysteries from apostolic times, while the sign of the cross was also made.

In the East that express formula which is still in use, 'Ἡ θεία χάρις, ἥ πάντοτε τὰ ἀσθενῆ θεραπεύουσα, κ.τ.λ.' "The divine grace which always heals the sick," etc., is found in some of the earliest and most ancient records.

It occurs in the "Order to be observed in the

* Vide Allatius—*De Libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Græcorum dissertationes et observationes variæ*. Paris: 1646, in which this principle is ably maintained.—*Euchologion*: Paris: 1647—*Bibliotheca Ritualis Zacchariæ*. Romæ: 1776-1781.

ordination of a deacon " in a Greek MS. reprinted by Morinus at p. 82 of his treatise, as also in the " Order to be observed in the ordination of a priest," at p. 87. So too is it found in the " Order to be observed in the ordination of a Bishop," at p. 89 of the same document. In each case this form is followed by the " Kyrie eleison," and a prayer asking for special graces fitting and appropriate for each respective office.* In the case of a priest, one paragraph of the prayer which follows the form stands thus:— " Perfectum, igitur, redde servum tuum in omnibus placentem tibi, ut dignè pro magno hoc Sacerdotali honore à providente virtute tua sibi concessio sese gerat."

The form occurs likewise in a second ancient Eastern Codex reprinted by Morinus at p. 91 of his treatise, in the ordination of a deacon, in the ordination of a priest, and in the consecration of a bishop.†

* A distinguished commentator on the Greek Ordo thus writes: " Episcopi opus et officium est docere, baptizare, solvere et ligare hominum peccata; atque ordinare et consecrare reliquos omnes ecclesiæ gradus." Gabrielis Philadelphie *Libellus de Ordin.*, caput v.; and with regard to the Priesthood as follows:—" Sacerdotium est Ordo divini mysterii sensibilis, virtutem habens spirituales ab hominibus masculis administratus, à Servatore nostro pro hominum salute et auxilio traditus," Ibid. cap. i. " Et sanctus Ioannes, insufflavit, et dixit eis, *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis; et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.* Sacerdotibus autem ab iis qui eos ordinaverunt data est potestas sacro modo immaculata mysteria operari, eaque cum fidelibus communicare, prout requirit ordo, et sanctæ ecclesiæ officium." Ibid. cap. v. See also on the general subject of the mode of bestowing Holy Orders in the East, *Liber De Sacramento Ordinis Symeonis Archiep. Thessalonicens.*, cap. v.—vij., and *Adnotationes Ioannis Morini in Græcas Ordinationes.*

† The various grades in the Episcopate, according to Roman theologians, are:—1. The Roman Pontiff. 2. Other Patriarchs. 3. Primates. 4. Metropolitans. 5. " Simple Bishops," so-called. Amongst Eastern writers the two first grades are regarded as one.

The formula may also be found in the Vatican Codex, reprinted by Morinus at p. 101. Here, in the ordination of a priest, after the use of the words "The divine grace," etc., and a prayer "O God who art without beginning and end, who art the ruler and preserver of all things, etc.," the attendant arch-deacon offers a prayer, amongst others, for the newly ordained presbyter; after which the consecrator, with imposition of hands, again prays, and the priest is indued with the priestly stole, the chasuble* (*φαινολιον*), and receives the kiss of peace.

The same rule and rite, in kind, though differing somewhat in detail, and specific in its reference to the Episcopal office, is found in the "Order to be observed in the Ordination of a Bishop," at p. 102.

The forms from J. Goar's edition of the Greek *Euchologion*† are substantially identical with those still in use in the Eastern Church. Those, too,

This is also the case amongst those Eastern communities which exist separated from the See of Constantinople.

The various grades in the Priesthood of the Western Church are usually admitted to be:—1. Vicars-general of Bishops. 2. Officials, so-called. 3. Canons. 4. Prebendaries. 5. Ordinary Parish Priests. Some writers, however, make Canons and Prebendaries to be one and the same grade. This broad division is practically held by the Church of England: for all such ranks and positions are found in it.

* On this act, see the Note "*Ipsumque phenolio induit*," No. 7, *Adnot. in Græcos Ordinationes* of Morinus, pp. 214-216, in which dissertation a great amount of very curious information, both ritualistic and antiquarian, is provided. The use of this rite was not introduced until a late period. It may be doubted whether it was so delivered and assumed until some time after it had been adopted in the Western Church. Its official use as a sacrificial garment was very probably co-eval with Apostolic practice, 2 Timothy iv. 13: its use in the act of ordination of late introduction.

† Paris: 1647. The best edition of the learned Dominican's Treatise.

which were formerly used by the ancient Christian bodies in the East neither in visible communion with Constantinople nor with Rome are mainly of the same type, as will in due course be seen.

That for the ordination of a Deacon in the Oriental Church from the *Euchologion* is here given in English, with the Greek text in a footnote below :

1.—FORM FOR ORDINATION OF A DEACON.*

The Oriental Form for the making of a Deacon.

After the Bishop has uttered the exclamation : " And the mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with you all," two Deacons going out of the Holy Bema, take him who is to be ordained Deacon, and who is standing in the Solea, and lead him to the holy Bema, going thrice round the Holy Table, singing : " Holy Martyrs, valiantly contending."

Then the candidate, advancing to the Bishop, is signed by him thrice on the head. After this the Bishop directs him to be ungirded, and the maniple to be taken from him. Then the candidate rests his forehead on the Holy Table, and bends his right knee. And when the Archdeacon has said : " Let us attend," the Bishop, laying his right hand on the head of the candidate, says aloud :

The Divine Grace, which always healeth that which is sick, and filleth up that which lacketh, advances (N.) the most pious Sub-deacon to be Deacon. Let us therefore pray

* Τάξις Γινομένη ἐπὶ Χειροτονίᾳ Διακόνου.

Μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἀρχιερέα τὴν Ἐκφώνησιν, τὸ, **Καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ, καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν**, ἐξεληθόντες δύο Διάκονοι ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου Βήματος, λαμβάνουσι τὸν μέλλοντα χειροτονεῖσθαι Διάκονον, ἐστῶτα ἐν τῇ Σολέα, καὶ εἰσάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Βῆμα, κυκλοῦντες τὴν ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν τρίς, ψάλλοντες καὶ τὸ, **Ἅγιοι Μάρτυρες, οἱ καλῶς ἀθλήσαντες**. Ἐῖτα προσερχόμενος τῷ Ἀρχιερεῖ, σφραγίζεται γ'. τὴν κεφαλὴν. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κελεύει ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποζώσασθαι τοῦτον, καὶ ἀρθῆναι τὸ μανδύλιον. Ἐῖτα ἐρείδει ὁ χειροτονούμενος τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τραπεζῇ, καὶ κλίνει τὸ γόνυ τὸ δεξιόν. Καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιδιακόνου ἐκφωνήσαντος τὸ, **Πρόσχωμεν**, ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων ἐπικειμένην τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου, ἐκφωνεῖ.

Ἡ θεία χάρις, ἡ πάντοτε τὰ ἀσθενῆ θεραπεύουσα, καὶ τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληροῦσα, προχειρίζεται (τὸν δεῖνα) τὸν εὐλα-

for him, that the grace of the All-Holy Spirit may come upon him.

Then "Lord have mercy" is thrice sung by those in the Bema and those outside it. And the Bishop signs his head thrice, and when the Deacon has said: "Let us beseech the Lord," the Bishop holding his right hand laid on the candidate's head, prays thus secretly:

O Lord our God, Who by Thy foreknowledge pourest the gift of Thy Holy Spirit upon those appointed by Thine unsearchable might, that they may be ministers and attendant on Thy spotless mysteries; keep, O Lord, this man, whom Thou hast vouchsafed to advance by me to the office of the Diaconate, in all holiness, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. Give him the grace which Thou didst give unto Stephen, Thy Proto-martyr, whom Thou didst call first to the work of Thy Diaconate, and make him fit, according to Thy good pleasure, to exercise well the degree bestowed on him by Thy goodness (for they who use this ministry well procure to themselves a good degree,) and

βέστατον Ὑποδιάκονον, εἰς Διάκονον· εὐξώμεθα οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος.

Καὶ ψάλλεται εὐθὺς τὸ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, ἐκ γ'. παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βήματι, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκτός. Καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς σφραγίζει γ'. τὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν· καὶ τοῦ Διακόνου εἰπόντος, Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθώμεν, ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην, εὐχεται οὕτω μυστικῶς·

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τῇ προγνώσει τῇ σῇ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος χορηγίαν καταπέμπων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὠρισμένους ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου δυνάμεως, λειτουργοὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀχράντοις σου Μυστηρίοις· αὐτὸς, Δέσποτα, καὶ τοῦτον, ὃν εὐδόκησας προχειρισθῆναι παρ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς Διακονίας λειτουργίαν, ἐν πάσῃ σεμνότητι διατήρησον, ἔχοντα τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει. Δώρησαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν, ἣν ἐδωρήσω Στεφάνῳ τῷ Πρωτομάρτυρί σου, ὃν καὶ ἐκάλεσας πρῶτον εἰς τὸ ἔργον τῆς διακονίας σου· καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν, κατὰ τὸ σοὶ εὐάρεστον, οἰκονομῆσαι τὸν παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος δεδορημένον αὐτῷ βαθμόν· οἱ γὰρ καλῶς διακονήσαντες, βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιούνται· καὶ τέλειον ἀνάδειξον δοῦλόν σου. "Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ

make Thy servant perfect. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

After the "Amen," the Archdeacon says in a low voice, loud enough for the Deacons present to hear and respond, the Great Collect (with the additional suffrages):

Let us pray the Lord for our Archbishop (N.), for his priesthood, help, patience, peace, health, and salvation, and for the work of his hands.

Let us pray the Lord for the servant of God (N.), now being advanced to be Deacon, and for his salvation.

Let us pray the Lord that our loving God may grant him that his diaconate be blameless.

When this has been said, the Bishop, keeping his hand on the candidate's head, prays thus secretly:

O God our Saviour, Who by Thine incorruptible voice didst appoint to Thine Apostles the institution of the Diaconate, and madest Thy Proto-martyr Stephen of his rank, and didst proclaim him the first to fulfil the work of a Deacon,

τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ, Ἀμήν, λέγει ὁ Ἀρχιδιάκονος λεπτῇ φωνῇ, ὅσον ἀκούειν τοὺς συμπρόντας Διακόνους, καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι, τὰ Διακονικά ταῦτα·

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δέινος), Ἱερωσύνης, ἀντιλήψεως, διαμονῆς, εἰρήνης, ὑγείας, καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ (τοῦ δέινος), τοῦ νυνὶ προχειριζομένου Διακόνου, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὅπως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἄσπιλον, καὶ ἀμώμητον ταυτῷ τὴν Διακονίαν χαρίσῃται, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Καὶ τούτων ρηθέντων, ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην, εὔχεται οὕτω μυστικῶς·

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ὁ τῇ ἀφθόρτῳ σου φωνῇ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις σου θεσπίσας τὸν τῆς Διακονίας νόμον καὶ τὸν Πρωτομάρτυρα Στέφανον τοιοῦτον ἀναδείξας, καὶ τρώτον αὐτὸν κηρύξας τὸ τοῦ Διακόνου πληροῦντα ἔργον, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Εὐαγγελίῳ σου: "Ὅς τις θέλει ἐν ὑμῖν

as it is written in Thy Holy Gospel, " Whosoever of you will be first, let him be your servant " [deacon], O Lord of all, fill this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen to enter on the ministry of the Diaconate, with all faith, and love, and power, and sanctification, by the visitation of Thy Holy and quickening Spirit, (for it is not by the imposition of my hands, but by the watchfulness of Thy rich mercies, that grace is given to Thy chosen ones), that he, being free from all sin, may stand before Thee blamelessly in Thy terrible Judgment Day, and obtain the unfailing reward of Thy promise. For Thou art our God, and to Thee we ascribe glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

And after the " Amen," he puts the stole on the newly-ordained, over the left shoulder, saying: " Worthy," and " Worthy " is repeated thrice according to custom by those in the Bema, and thrice by the singers. Then the Bishop gives him the holy fan, saying as before: " Worthy," and all the Deacons give him the kiss. And he, taking the fan, stands corner-wise at the Holy Table at the right side, and fans above the Blessed Sacrament. And the other Deacon stands outside the Bema in the accustomed place, and says:

εἶναι πρῶτος, ἔστω ὑμῶν διάκονος. Σὺ Δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τούτον, ὃν κατηξίωσας τὴν τοῦ Διακόνου ὑπεισελθεῖν λειτουργίαν, πλήρωσον πάσης πίστεως, καὶ ἀγάπης, καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀγιασμοῦ, τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σου Πνεύματος· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθέσει τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῶν πλουσίῳ σου οἰκτιρμῶν δίδοται χάρις τοῖς ἀξίοις σου, ἵνα καὶ οὗτος πάσης ἁμαρτίας ἐκτὸς γενόμενος, ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεώς σου ἀμέμπτως σοι παραστῇ, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τὸν ἀδιάφρευτον τῆς σῆς ἐπαγγελίας κομίσῃται. Σὺ γὰρ εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ, Ἀμήν, περιτίθῃσι τὸ Ὠράριον τῷ χειροτονθέντι, κατὰ τὸν ἁριστερὸν ὤμον, λέγων· Ἀξίος, καὶ ψάλλεται συνήθως τρίτον τὸ, Ἀξίος· παρὰ τῶν τοῦ Βήματος, καὶ τρίτον παρὰ τῶν Ψαλτῶν. Εἴτα ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἅγιον Ῥιπίδιον, λέγων ὁμοίως· Ἀξίος· καὶ ἀσπάζονται αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ Διάκονοι.

Ὁ δὲ, τὸ Ῥιπίδιον λαβὼν, ἵσταται ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιῷ μέρους, καὶ ριπίζει ἐπάνω τῶν Ἀγίων. Καὶ ὁ ἕτερος Διάκονος ἵσταται ἔξω τοῦ Βήματος ἐν τῷ συνήθει τόπῳ, καὶ λέγει·

Making mention of all the Saints, again and again in peace, let us beseech the Lord, &c.

At the time of Communion, the new-ordained partakes of the Divine Mysteries before the other Deacons, and repeats the Diaconal portions in their place, to wit, Erect receiving. So it is done, when the complete Liturgy is celebrated. But if it be the rite of the Presanctified, note that after the Presanctified have been placed on the Holy Table, before the Deacon says "Let us complete our prayer," the candidate for ordination is brought forward, and the rite of ordination takes place as we have described.

On this rite, it may be first remarked that the term *χειροτονία*, though seldom used in the New Testament, is constantly found in the Greek Rituals. It is employed exclusively in regard to the Sacred or Holy Orders—the term *χειροθεσία* being made use of with reference to the inferior.* In the Oriental Church the office of a deacon has retained more of its primitive character and importance than is the case in the West. Moreover, it is not customary in the East for a presbyter or bishop to fill a subordinate office at the celebration of the Liturgy: nor, indeed, is there any necessity that either should do so, because in the majority of parishes in Russia, as well as in other parts of the East, there is a

Πάντων τῶν Ἀγίων μνημονεύσαντες, ἔτι, καὶ ἔτι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

Εἰς δὲ τὸν τῆς Μεταλήψεως καιρὸν, πρῶτος τῶν ἄλλων Διακόνων ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς μετέχει τῶν θείων Μυστηρίων, καὶ λέγει τὰ Διακονικὰ εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν, ἡγουν, τὸ, Ὅρθοι μεταλαβόντες.

Ταῦτα δὲ γίνονται, ὅταν γίνηται Λειτουργία τελεία. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Προηγιασμέναις γίνεται, ἰστέον, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ Προηγιασμένα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τραπέζῃ, πρὶν εἰπεῖν τὸν Διάκονον· Πληρώσωμεν τὴν δέησιν, προσάγεται ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι, καὶ γίνεται ἡ τάξις τῆς Χειροτονίας, ὡς ἔφημεν.

* Vide Morinus, *Adnotationes in Græcas Ordinationes*, 71, p. 233.—Græcè *χειροθεσία* et *χειροθετεῖν* non semper sumuntur pro ordinatione quæ characterem imprimit, et sacramentum sit, etc.—*Canones Concilii Nic. viii.* See also the heading of our English services, in which the terms "making," "ordaining," and "consecrating," are respectively used.

resident deacon as well as a priest, and many priests where a bishop dwells. The Solea* here referred to is the space between the choir and sanctuary, commonly raised on a level with the lowest step of the Bema. Here the candidate for the Sacred Order of deacon is directed to stand. The hymn referred to is sung during a procession, which takes its way three times round the Holy Table. The girdle, short cassock, maniple, water-vessel and basin—*instrumenta* indicating the office and position of a sub-deacon—are taken from him; then the bishop ordains him by imposition of his right hand with the well-known Eastern form of words, and signs him three times with the sign of the cross. Afterwards, still holding his right hand on the head of the person ordained, he prays on his behalf for grace. Then follows an act of intercession on behalf of the ordained by the sub-deacon; the bishop still retaining his hand on the ordained person's head, prays secretly; and then, having placed the stole on his left shoulder, gives him the *Flabellum*† or Fan, after which the deacons present give him the kiss of peace. The newly-ordained then proceeds

* Solea—*σολέα, σολία, σολεῖον*. "Solea spatium inter chorum et sanctuarium," *De Ordin. Græc.* MS. "Locus est in Ecclesiis Græcorum intermedius inter sanctuarium et chorum." Morinus. *Adnot. in Græcas Ordinationes.* Pars. II. *De Sacris Ordinationibus*, sec. 52. p. 229.

† *ῥιπίδιον*—*Flabellum*, a fan, one of the Eastern diaconal *instrumenta*. It was formerly made of feathers, and was used to keep off flies from the Eucharistic chalice. It is now of precious metal, and merely ornamental. Its use, though exceptional, is not entirely set aside in the Western Church. These fans exist, and are still used, both at Rome and Milan. See the *Adnotationes in Græcas Ordinationes* in the treatise of Morinus, *De Sac. Ord.*, Pars. II. p. 217, where he comments at some length on the direction "Tradit ei sanctum flabellum." See also the *Dissertationes* of Hugo Menardus on the *Sacramentary of St. Gregory*, p. 319.

to exercise his diaconal function at the altar, and communicates of the Holy Mysteries first in order of the deacons, standing erect.

2.—FORM FOR THE ORDINATION OF A PRIEST.*

The Oriental
Form for the
Ordaining of a
Priest.

At the close of the Cherubic Hymn, he who is about to be ordained Priest stands in the Solium, and two Deacons passing out, take him on each side and lead him as far as the holy doors. There the Deacons leave him, and two priests (the first and second) receive him, and walk thrice round the Holy Table, saying: "Holy Martyrs, valiantly contending." Note, that when they sing "Holy Martyrs," the Bishop sits on a throne before the Holy Table, and there, as they circle round about, when they come in front, they make an obeisance, and the candidate kisses the Bishop's knee above the pall. Then the Bishop rises, and the candidate advances to him, and is signed by him thrice on the head, and after this, resting his forehead on the Holy Table, he kneels on both knees. And when the Deacon exclaims: "Let us attend," the Bishop immediately exclaims, holding his right hand on the candidate's head:

The Divine Grace, which always healeth that which is sick, and filleth up that which lacketh, advances (N.) the most pious Deacon to be Priest. Let us therefore pray for him, that the grace of the All-Holy Spirit may come upon him.

* Τάξις Γινομένη ἐπὶ Χειροτονία Πρεσβυτέρου.

Μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὸν Χερουβικὸν ὕμνον, ἵσταται ἐν τῇ Σολέᾳ ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι Πρεσβύτερος· καὶ ἐξερχόμενοι δύο Διάκονοι, λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους, καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῶν ἁγίων Θυρῶν· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀπολύουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Διάκονοι, καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν δύο Πρεσβύτεροι, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ κυκλοῦσι τρίς τὴν ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν, ψάλλοντες καὶ τὸ,

Ἁγιοὶ Μάρτυρες, οἱ καλῶς ἀθλήσαντες.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι, ὅταν ψάλλωσι τὸ, Ἁγιοὶ Μάρτυρες, κάθηται ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς θρόνον, καὶ ἐκεῖ, ὅπου κυκλοῦσι γύρωθεν, ὅταν ἔρχωνται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως, ποιοῦσι μετάνοιαν, καὶ ὁ χειροτονούμενος ἀσπάζεται τὸ γόνυ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως ἐπάνω τοῦ Ὠμοφορίου.

Εἴτα, ἀνισταμένου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως, προσέρχεται αὐτῷ ὁ χειροτονούμενος, καὶ σφραγίζεται τρίτον τὴν κεφαλὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐρείσας τὸ μέτωπον τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τραπέζῃ, κλίνει καὶ ἄμφω τὰ γόνατα. Καὶ ἐκφωνοῦντος τοῦ Διακόνου, Προσχωμεν· εὐθὺς ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς, ἔχων καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ.

Ἡ θεία χάρις, ἡ πάντοτε τὰ ἀσθενῆ θεραπεύουσα καὶ τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληροῦσα, προχειρίζεται (τὸν δεῖνα) τὸν εὐλα-

Then those within the Bema and the singers say thrice: "Lord have mercy." The Bishop having again signed him thrice, and keeping the hand on his head, says the following prayer secretly, after the Deacon has said: "Let us beseech the Lord :"

O God, Un-beginning and Un-ending, Who art older than all creation, Who hast honoured with the title of Priest those accounted worthy to discharge the holy ministry of the word of Thy Truth in this degree; vouchsafe, O Lord of all, that this man, whom Thou hast been pleased to advance by me, may receive this great grace of Thy Holy Spirit, in blameless conversation and unswerving faith, and make Thy servant perfect, in all things well-pleasing unto Thee, and guiding well this great Priestly honour given unto him by Thy fore-knowing power. For Thine is the might, and Thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

And after this prayer, the principal Priest says in a low tone, loud enough for his colleagues to hear and respond, the Diaconal sentences:

βέστατον Διάκονον εἰς Πρεσβύτερον· εὐζώμεθα οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος.

Καὶ λέγουσι τό, Κύριε ἐλέησον γ'. οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ Βήματος ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ Ψάλται. Πάλιν οὖν σφραγίσας αὐτὸν τρίς, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ἐπικειμένην, τοῦ Διακόνου εἰπόντος, Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν, λέγει ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν Εὐχὴν ταύτην μυστικῶς·

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀναρχος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, ὁ πάσης κτίσεως πρεσβύτατος ὑπάρχων, ὁ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τοῦ Πρεσβυτέρου τιμήσας τοὺς ἐν τῷ βαθμῷ τούτῳ ἀξιωθέντας ἱεουργεῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας· αὐτὸς, Δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ τοῦτον, ὃν εὐδόκησας προχειρισθῆναι παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἐν ἀμέμπτῳ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ ἀκλινεῖ τῇ πίστει, εὐδόκησον ὑποδέξασθαι τὴν μεγάλην ταύτην χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος, καὶ τέλειον ἀνάδειξον δοῦλόν σου, ἐν πᾶσιν εὐαρεστούντά σοι, καὶ ἀξίως πολιτευόμενον τῆς δωρηθείσης αὐτῷ, ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς προγνωστικῆς δυνάμεως, μεγάλης ταύτης Ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς. "Οτι σὸν τὸ κράτος, καὶ σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Καὶ μετὰ τὴν Εὐχὴν ταύτην, λέγει ὁ Πρωτοπαπᾶς λεπτῇ φωνῇ, ὅσον ἀκούειν τοὺς συμπρόντας, καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι, τὰ Διακονικὰ ταῦτα.

In peace, &c., (with other general intercessions).

For the servant of God (N.) now being advanced to be Priest, and for his salvation.

That our loving God may grant him that his Priesthood may be a spotless and blameless Priesthood, &c. (with other intercessions).

The Bishop, holding his hand still on the head of the candidate, prays again as follows, secretly :

O God, mighty in power and unsearchable in wisdom, wonderful in counsel above the sons of men ; fill, O Lord, with the gift of Thy Holy Spirit this man whom Thou hast been pleased should enter the degree of Priest, that he may be worthy to stand blamelessly before Thine Altar, to preach the Gospel of Thy Kingdom, to discharge the sacred ministry

Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνωθεν εἰρήνης.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος), Ἱερωσύνης, ἀντιλήψεως, διαμονῆς, εἰρήνης, ὑγείας, σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ (τοῦ δεῖνος), νυνὶ προχειριζόμενου Πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀμώμητον αὐτῷ τὴν Ἱερωσύνην χαρίσῃται, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, πάσης πόλεως.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης.

Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον.

Τῆς Παναγίας, ἀχράντου. κ. τ. λ.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιερεὺς, ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην, εἶχεται οὕτω καὶ αὐθις, μυστικῶς.

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστος ἐν συνέσει, ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐν βουλαῖς, ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· αὐτὸς, Κύριε, καὶ τοῦτον, ὃν εὐδόκησας τὸν τοῦ Πρεσβυτέρου ὑπεισελθεῖν βαθμὸν, πλήρωσον τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος δωρεᾶς· ἵνα γένηται ἄξιος παρεστάναι ἀμέμπτως τῷ Θυσιαστηρίῳ σου, κηρύσσειν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου, ἱερουργεῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας σου, προσφέρειν σοι δῶρα καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς, ἀνακαινίζειν τὸν λαόν σου διὰ τῆς

of the word of Thy truth, to offer unto Thee gifts and spiritual sacrifices, to renew Thy people through the laver of regeneration, that at the second Coming of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Thine Only-Begotten Son, he may there receive the reward of his good administration of his proper order, in the multitude of Thy goodness. For Thine awful and glorious Name, that of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is blessed and magnified now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

After the "Amen," the Bishop raises him up, and brings the back part of his stole to the front of the right side, saying "Worthy." Then putting the chasuble on him, he again exclaims: "Worthy." And those in the Bema and the singers also chant it.

Then the newly-ordained kisses the Bishop and the Priests, and departing takes his stand with the Priests, reading the Contakion. And the Deacon stands in the accustomed place, saying: "Let us complete our supplication to the Lord." When the Holy Mysteries are hallowed, and he is about to say: "That they may be to those who partake," the new-ordained advances, and the Bishop gives him the Holy Bread, saying thus: "Take this deposit and keep it, until the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, when thou shalt be asked for it by Him."

τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας· ὅπως καὶ αὐτός, ὑπαντήσας ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐπιδημίᾳ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ, καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, δέξεται τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀγαθῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ οἰκείου τάγματος, ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἀγαθότητός σου. "Ὅτι ὑψόγεται, καὶ δεδοξασται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, κ. τ. λ.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ, Ἀμήν, ἀνίστησιν αὐτὸν, καὶ φέρει τὸ ὕψισθεν τοῦ Ὁραρίου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους, λέγων· Ἀξιός. Εἶτα ἐνδύων αὐτὸν τὸ Φελόνιον, ἐκφωνεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ, Ἀξιός. Καὶ ψάλλουσιν αὐτὸ οἱ τε τοῦ ἑτάματος, καὶ οἱ Ψάλται.

Καὶ οὕτως ἀσπάζεται τὸν Ἀρχιερέα, καὶ τοὺς Πρεσβυτέρους· καὶ ἀπερχόμενος, ἵσταται μετὰ τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων, ἀναγινώσκων τὸ Κοντάκιον. Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος ἵσταται εἰς τὸν συνήθη τόπον, λέγων τὸ, Πληρώσωμεν τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ. "Ὅτε δὲ τελειωθῶσι τὰ Ἅγια, καὶ μέλλει εἰπεῖν, Ὡστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσι, προσέρχεται ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς, καὶ ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον, λέγων οὕτως·

Δάβε τὴν παρακαταθήκην ταύτην, καὶ φύλαξον αὐτήν, ἕως τῆς Παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτε παρ' αὐτοῦ μέλλεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι αὐτήν.

And he taking it, kisses the hand of the Bishop, and retires to his former place, putting his hands on the Holy Table, and saying to himself, "Lord have mercy," and: "Have mercy on me, O God."

When "Holy things to holy persons" is about to be said, then the newly-ordained returns the Holy Bread, and receives from the Bishop first of all, and also says the Prayer behind the Ambon.

In the Eastern Church, as will have been observed, the candidate for the priesthood is ordained with the same well-known words, *mutatis mutandis*, as are there used in the office for ordaining a deacon. The Priest is signed three times with the sign of the cross, and then the Bishop prays that he may, through blameless conversation and unswerving faith, use aright the priestly honour bestowed. After an intercession by the archpriest for the newly-ordained, the Bishop, still holding his hand on the candidate's head, secretly prays once more that he may be worthy to offer unto God gifts and spiritual sacrifices, to renew mankind in the laver of regeneration, and so finally to obtain for himself a good reward. He is then clothed by the Bishop with the stole in priestly form, and with the chasuble. Afterwards he receives the Holy Communion with the Bishop. It will be specially remarked that there is neither unction of the head nor hands; nor any *traditio instrumentorum*. It also cannot fail to be noticed that there is nothing which strictly corresponds with the "Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missasque celebrare, tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis," of the Roman

‘Ο δὲ λαβὼν, ἀσπάζεται τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως, καὶ μεθίσταται, ἐν ᾧ πρότερον ἴστατο τόπῳ, τὰς μὲν χεῖρας θεὸς ἐπάνω τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης, καθ’ ἑαυτὸν δὲ λέγων τὸ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, καὶ τὸ Ἐλέησόν με ὁ Θεός.

“Οτε δὲ μέλλει εἰπεῖν· Τὰ Ἅγια τοῖς Ἀγίοις· τότε ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἀποδίδωσι τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως μεταλαμβάνει πρῶτος τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ λέγει καὶ τὴν Ὀπισθάμβωνον Εὐχὴν.

Pontifical.* The only direct reference to the subject of sacrifice occurs in the prayer "O God, mighty in power and unsearchable in wisdom," in which the expression is προσφέρειν σοι δῶρα καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς, "to offer unto Thee gifts and spiritual sacrifices."

And now with regard to our own case, by way of comparison. In the Prayer immediately preceding the act of ordination in the Revised English Ordinal, the Bishop prays that those who are called to the same labour and ministry as was exercised by the "apostles, prophets, evangelists, doctors, and pastors," may "set forth the eternal praise of [God's] Holy Name." How and in what mode this is to be effected may be gathered from the words spoken later on, "Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His Holy Sacraments," and by what follows, "Take thou authority . . . to minister the Holy Sacraments," etc. In other words, the divine and holy works that were done, the sacraments administered, and the sacramental acts which were performed by our Lord's apostles and the ancient doctors and pastors, were, according to the Revised Ordinal, likewise enjoined to be done, according to their degree, by those who were ordained by it. Thus, then, though the Eastern type of service

* In the *Euchologion* there follows a special independent office "For the Making of a Confessor," with distinct and definite authority to exercise the power of the keys. Some Western writers, consequently, have maintained that the previous rite is only a partial ordination. However, as Dr. Littledale remarks, "Goar in his note on the passage defends it from this aspersion, and alleges it to be based on the double ordination of the apostles, first on Maundy Thursday as sacrificers, and afterwards as holders of the keys." *Offices of the Holy Eastern Church*. Note 29, p. 273. London: 1863.

varies in its construction from that in the "Book of Common Prayer," yet the essentials are substantially identical in both, and in perfect accordance with the directions of the most ancient and primitive rites.

3.—FORM FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A BISHOP.*

The Oriental
Form for the
Consecration of
a Bishop.

At the close of the Trisagion, the Bishop goes up to the footpace before the Holy Table, and the Candidate is led up to him on the right hand by three of the Bishops present, and the Registrar, on the left, gives him a paper, in which the following form is written, if the Consecrator be a Patriarch:—

By the vote and scrutiny of the Most Holy Metropolitans, and God-loved Archbishops and Bishops.

If he be a Metropolitan, in Constantinople, as follows:—

By the vote and scrutiny of the Most Holy Metropolitans, the God-loved Archbishops, and Bishops, the Divine Grace, which always healeth that which is sick, and filleth up that which lacketh, advances (N.) the most pious Elect, to be Metropolitan of the most sacred Metropolis (N). Let us therefore pray for him, that the grace of the All-Holy Spirit may come on him.

* Τάξις Γινομένη ἐπὶ Χειροτονίᾳ Ἐπισκόπου.

Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Τρισαγίου συμπλήρωσιν, ἄνεισιν ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα τὴν πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης· καὶ προσάγεται τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν συμπαρόντων τριῶν Ἀρχιερέων ὁ χειροτονεῖσθαι μέλλων, ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους· ὁ δὲ Χαρτοφύλαξ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ χάρτην, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται, εἰ μὲν Πατριάρχης ἐστὶν ὁ χειροτονῶν, ταῦτα·

Ψήφῳ καὶ δοκιμασίᾳ τῶν Ἱεροτάτων Μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ Θεοφιλεστάτων Ἀρχιεπισκόπων, καὶ Ἐπισκόπων.

Εἰ δὲ Μητροπολίτης, ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ταῦτα·

Ψήφῳ καὶ δοκιμασίᾳ τῶν Πανιερωτάτων Μητροπολιτῶν, Θεοφιλεστάτων Ἀρχιεπισκόπων τε καὶ Ἐπισκόπων, ἡ θεία χάρις, ἡ πάντοτε τὰ ἀσθενῇ θεραπεύουσα, καὶ τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληροῦσα, προχειρίζεται (τὸν δεῖνα) τὸν εὐλαβέστατον, ὑποψήφιον, Μητροπολίτην τῆς ἁγιωτάτης Μητροπόλεως (δεῖνος). εὐξώμεθα οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις τοῦ παναγίου Πνύματος.

And those within and without the Bema say: "Lord have mercy," thrice.

This paper being given to the Bishop, and the Registrar or the Arch-deacon saying: "Let us attend," the Bishop reads the writing so as to be heard by those round, and all exclaim: "Lord have mercy," as has been stated before, the Bishop opens the Gospel, and lays it on the head and neck of the Candidate, the other Bishops touching him at the same time. Then making three crosses on his head, and keeping his right hand laid on it, he prays thus secretly:—

O Lord and Master, our God, Who by Thine illustrious Apostle Paul hast enjoined on us the order of degrees and ranks for the service and ministry of Thy sacred and stainless mysteries at Thy Holy altar, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, do Thou, O Lord of all, strengthen this man elected and deemed worthy of taking on him the yoke of the gospel and the episcopal dignity, through the hand of me a sinner, and the Ministers and fellow-Bishops here present, strengthen him with the visitation and might and grace of Thy Holy Spirit, as Thou didst strengthen Thy holy apostles and prophets; as Thou didst anoint the kings,

Καὶ οἱ τοῦ Βήματος καὶ οἱ ἐκτὸς, τὸ, Κύριε ἐλέησον. γ'.

Ἐπιδιδόμενου τοίνυν τοῦ τοιοῦτου χάρτου τῷ Ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ τοῦ Χαρτοφύλακος, ἢ τοῦ Ἀρχιδακόνου, λέγοντος τὸ, Πρόσφωμεν· ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τὰ γεγραμμένα, εἰς ἐπήκοον τῶν περιεστώτων· καὶ πάντων φωνούντων τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, ὡς προεδέηλωται, ἀναπτύσσει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ ἐπιτίθῃσι τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου, συνεπαπτομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρχιερέων. Εἶτα, ποιῶν Σταυροὺς τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔχων ἐπικειμένην αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν, εὐχεται οὕτω μυστικῶς.

Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ νομοθετήσας ἡμῖν, διὰ τοῦ πανευφήμου σου Ἀποστόλου Παύλου, βαθμῶν καὶ ταγμάτων τάξιν, εἰς τὸ ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι, καὶ λειτουργεῖν τοῖς σεπτοῖς καὶ ἀχράντοις σου Μυστηρίοις, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου Θυσιαστηρίῳ, πρῶτον Ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον Προφήτας, τρίτον Διδασκάλους· αὐτὸς, Δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ψηφισθέντα, καὶ ἀξιωθέντα ὑπεισελθεῖν τὸν Εὐαγγελικὸν ζυγόν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχιερατικὴν ἀξίαν, διὰ τῆς χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων Λειτουργῶν καὶ Συνεπισκόπων, τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει, καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ χάριτι τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος ἐνίσχυσον, ὡς ἐνίσχυσας τοὺς ἁγίους σου Ἀποστόλους, καὶ Προφήτας· ὡς ἔχρισας τοὺς Βασιλεῖς· ὡς ἡγίασας τοὺς Ἀρχιερεῖς· καὶ

as Thou didst sanctify the high priests ; and make his episcopate blameless, and adorning him with all holiness, make him saintly, that he may be worthy to pray for the salvation of the people, and that Thou mayest hear him. For Thy Name is hallowed and Thy kingdom glorified, &c.

And after the "Amen," one of the consecrating Bishops says in a low voice, loud enough for the attendant Bishops to hear, the Diaconal sentences ;

In peace, &c.

For the servant of God (N.), now being advanced to be Bishop, and for his salvation. That our loving God may grant him that his episcopate be spotless and blameless, &c.

ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόδειξον, καὶ πάσῃ σεμνότητι κατακοσμῶν, ἅγιον ἀνάδειξον εἰς τὸ ἄξιον γενέσθαι, τοῦ αἰτεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ Λαοῦ, καὶ ὑπακούειν σε αὐτοῦ. Ὅτι ἡγιασταί σου τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ δεδοῦξασταί σου ἡ βασιλεία, κ. τ. λ.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ, Ἀμήν, λέγει τῶν συγχειροτονοῦντων Ἀρχιερέων εἷς, λεπτῇ φωνῇ, ὅσον ἀκούειν τοὺς συνόντας Ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι, τὰ Διακονικὰ ταῦτα :

Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἐπεὶ τῆς ἁνωθεν εἰρήνης, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας.

Ἐπεὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου.

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δέϊνος), Ἱερωσύνης, ἀντιλήψεως, διαμονῆς, εἰρήνης, υἱείας, καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ (τοῦ δέϊνος), τοῦ νυνὶ προχειριζομένου Ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀμόμητον αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην χαρίσεται, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἐπεὶ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, πάσης πόλεως, καὶ χώρας, καὶ τῶν πίστει οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἐπεὶ πάντων τῶν χρηζόντων τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας καὶ ἀντιλήψεως, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως.

Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον. Τῆς Παναγίας, ἀχράντου.

When this has been said, the Bishop, still keeping his hand on the head of the Candidate, prays as follows, secretly :—

O Lord our God, Who, because the nature of man cannot endure the presence of the substance of the Godhead, hast in Thy governance appointed for us teachers of like passions with ourselves, occupying Thy seat, to offer unto Thee sacrifice and oblation for all Thy people, do Thou, O Christ, grant that this man, now made a steward of episcopal grace, may be an imitator of Thee the true Shepherd, giving his life for Thy sheep, to be a guide of the blind, a light to those in darkness, a teacher of the ignorant, an instructor of infants, a lamp in the world, that, having trained souls committed unto him in this present life, he may stand unashamed at Thy judgment-seat, and receive the great reward which Thou hast prepared for those who contend for the preaching of Thy Gospel. For Thou, O God, hast mercy and dost save us, and to Thee we ascribe glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

And after the "Amen," he takes the Gospel, and places it on the Holy

Καὶ τούτων λεγομένων, ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων ὡσαύτως τῇ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κορυφῇ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην, εἵχεται οὕτω μυστικῶς·

Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν τὴν τῆς Θεότητος ὑπενεγκεῖν οὐσίαν τῇ σῇ οἰκονομίᾳ ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν διδασκάλους καταστήσας, τὸν σὸν ἐπέχοντας θρόνον, εἰς τὸ ἀναφέρειν σοι θυσίαν, καὶ προσφορὰν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· σὺ, Χριστέ, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀναδειθέντα οἰκονόμον τῆς Ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος, ποιήσον γενέσθαι μιμητὴν σοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Ποιμένου, τιθέντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων σου, ὁδῆγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων, διδάσκαλον νηπίων, φωστήρα ἐν κόσμῳ· ἵνα, καταρτίσας τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ἐμπιστευθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς, παραστῇ τῷ βήματί σου ἀκαταισχύντως, καὶ τὸν μέγαν μισθὸν λάβῃ, ὃν ἡτοίμασας τοῖς ἀθλήσασιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου σου. Σὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐλθεῖν καὶ σώζειν ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ, Ἀμήν, αἶρει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τίθησιν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τρά-

Table, and then puts the Pall on the holy-ordained, saying: "Worthy," which the Clergy also do.

Then the Consecrator kisses the consecrated, and so do the other Bishops. And at the close of the accustomed acclamation they ascend to the Apse, and the newly consecrated Bishop taking his seat first, offers the prayer for peace at the lection of the Apostle, and first of all partakes of the Precious Body and Blood of Christ. And he, too, communicates the Consecrator and the rest.

This form, though simpler than others as regards some of its rubrical directions, is held to be the most venerable of the three published in J. Goar's edition of the *Euchologion*. It follows the type, form and construction of the Rites already given for the making of a deacon and the ordaining of a priest. There is, as will be noted, (α) an imposition of hands with the use of the words, "The Divine Grace," etc.; (β) a placing of the Book of the Gospels open on the head and neck of the candidate, by the consecrator;* (γ) a signing three times of the person consecrated, by the consecrator; (δ) a second imposition of the consecrator's right hand during certain secret prayers by him; (ε) the induing

πεσαν. Καὶ οὕτως ἐπιτίθησι τῷ Χειροτονηθέντι τὸ Ὁμοφόριον, λέγων. Ὁ Ἄγιος δμοίως καὶ ὁ Κλῆρος τὸ αὐτὸ.

Εἶτα τὸν Χειροτονηθέντα ἀσπάζεται ὁ Χειροτονήσας, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἐπίσκοποι. Καὶ τῆς συνήθους εὐφημίας τελουμένης, ἀνέρχονται εἰς τὸ Σύνθρονον καὶ καθεζόμενος πρῶτος ὁ Χειροτονηθεὶς, εἰρηνεύει εἰς τὸν Ἀπόστολον καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἄλλων, τοῦ τιμίου Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνει. Αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Χειροτονήσαντι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς μεταδίδωσι.

* This ceremonial act is ordered to be done by the assistant-bishops, and not by the consecrator, both in the *Ordo Romanus* as well as in Egbert's *Liber Pontificalis*. The book of the Gospels was formerly used closed in the West. It is now, however, used open; and this ceremony, according to the *Pontificale Romanum*, precedes the use of the words of consecration "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum." "Tum Consecrator," the rubric stands, "accepto libro Evangeliorum, illum apertum, adjuvantibus Episcopis assistantibus, nihil dicens imponit super cervicem, et scapulas electi," etc. *De Consecratione Electi in Episcopum*.—*Pontificale Romanum*, pp. 94, 95. Mechliniæ: 1862.

the consecrated with the Pall; (ζ) the bestowal of the kiss of peace; (θ) the communion of the newly-consecrated first in order, and the communion of the consecrated by him.

It should be especially noticed, as a point of great importance, that the assistant bishops do not either say with the consecrator the words of consecration, "The Divine Grace," etc., nor are they directed to use with him the prayers which are said immediately after the act, in which the office and work of a bishop are so specifically referred to.

This detail will be considered again in connection with the existing rite of the Church of England.

CHAPTER XIII.

FORMS OF ORDINATION IN USE AMONGST THE SEPARATED COMMUNITIES OF THE EAST. (CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS.)

BEFORE the forms for the ordination of deacons and priests, together with the canons for making bishops are set forth, as used by the very ancient community known as the "Christians of St. Thomas," or "the Syrians of Malabar," it is necessary to point out, first, that the members of this community are commonly reputed to be Jacobites, and, secondly, that they hold very strongly the dogma that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone. The Jacobite heresy is said to acknowledge only *one Nature* and one Person in Christ; but it would be a misconception of the teaching of the Jacobite doctors to understand them as affirming that our Blessed Saviour had only the Nature of God by itself, or that of Man by itself. On this and kindred details reference may be made to an extremely learned and interesting volume, recently published, which gives a very careful account both of the former and present state of this community,* besides providing a plain and lucid commentary on their faith, ritual, practice and discipline.

The Rites of Ordination used by the Christians of St. Thomas, in the Patriarchate of Antioch, insubstantial harmony, as regards Form and Matter, with the Church Universal.

* The Christians of St. Thomas. By the Rev. G. B. Howard. London: 1864.

The forms given below are transcribed from a MS. of the late Dr. C. Buchanan, (revised by the late Dr. W. H. Mill,) who took them from an ancient codex believed to be of the eighth century, to which a variety of additions had from time to time been made. The ancient portions, without the interlineations afterwards added, are alone given in the transcript. With these forms, as well as with those in use amongst the Nestorians, that follow, may be compared the text of the rites and ceremonies published by Morinus, *Ritus Ordinationis Diaconi*,* as used both by the Maronites and Nestorians; as also *Ritus Ordinationis Presbyteri et Episcoporum*.† From all these may be gathered the fact that in conferring each order that which has always been held to be essential, and that alone, is the imposition of hands with prayer, the consecrator intending to fulfil the commands of our Blessed Lord and to follow the common customs of the Universal Church. Various expressive forms peculiar to the Oriental churches are found, practised either by the express injunction of written directions, or by the carefully-preserved traditions of later ages; but the leading teachers of these communities, as well as the most learned Western commentators upon their rites, frankly and clearly allow the truth of the proposition set forth above.

* *De Sacris Ordinationibus*. Part II. Syrorum Maronitarum Ordinationes, pp. 396, 404 et 419: et Syrorum Nestorianorum Ordinationes, pp. 445, 452, et 459.

† In the rite for the Ordination of a Deacon, according to the rule and custom of the Christians of St. Thomas, which ordination, as regards time, takes place during the Liturgy, after the Creed of Nicæa is said, the Epistle is taken from 1 Timothy iii. 8-15 and iv. 6-10, and the Gospel from S. John xii. 24-26, *ibid* 35-36, etc. *Vide also Codex Liturgicus*, J. A. Assemani, tom. iii. c. v. p. 136. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. pp. 343 et seq.

Furthermore : the very fact of these ancient communities having been for so many centuries openly separated not only from communion with the Western Church, but likewise with the Eastern, shows that that which is common to all in the question of what is only essential to ordination, must be that which it is alone necessary for all local churches to observe and follow.

As the distinguished Western editor of the *Euchologion* remarked :—“ Since it is necessary there should be some one essential rule or method of dispensing Holy Orders in the Church Universal, and that there can be no other matter or orders assigned in the Greek part of that Church but only imposition of hands, it must follow without dispute that even in the Latin Church the same, exclusive of all other ceremonies, is essential to them.” *

If this be so, the conclusion which members of the Church of England draw with regard to their Ordinal, is a conclusion warranted both by known ecclesiastical principles and theological facts.

1.—ORDINATION OF DEACONS ACCORDING TO THE RITE OF THE CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS.

The Form and Order for making a Deacon, according to the ancient rites of the Christians of St. Thomas.

The person to be ordained shall kneel on his right knee at the entrance of the Sanctuary.

After the Creed in the Liturgy the assistant Priests sing “ Lord have mercy upon us : ” after which the Metran, inclining, shall offer this prayer on his own behalf.

O Lord God of Hosts, Who hast appointed us to the office of this ministry, Who knowest the thoughts of man, and

* “ Cum in universâ Ecclesiâ unam Sacramentorum administrandorum rationem essentialem (materiam nimirum et formam) statuere necesse est, nec in Græcâ illius portione, alia quam manus impositio queat assignari : indubie requiritur, in Latînâ eandem quoque essentialem esse reputandam.” *Goar in Euchologion*, p. 256.

searchest the hearts and reins, hear us according to the multitude of Thy mercies. Purify us from all filthiness, both of flesh and spirit. Remove all our transgressions as a cloud, and our iniquities as the dew. Replenish us with Thy power, endue us with the grace of Thy Only Son, and strengthen us by the operation of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may be fit for the ministry of the New Testament; and that we may be able to stand before Thee to minister at Thy divine altar and perform the priestly office in a manner worthy of Thy Holy Name. Suffer us not to be partakers of other men's sins, and vouchsafe to blot out our own. Grant, O Lord, that we may do nothing by partiality, and give us wisdom to make a choice of fit persons to draw near unto Thee.

Receive, O Lord, these deacons who stand here and wait for Thy heavenly gift: For Thou art gracious and plenteous in mercy to all those who call upon Thee. And strong is Thy power, and that of Thy Son, and of Thy most Holy and Blessed Spirit. *R.* Amen.

P. Peace be with you all.

R. And with thy spirit.

The Archdeacon bearing the pastoral staff shall stand at the south side of the entrance of the sanctuary, facing the north, and make the following declaration.

May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which always supplies what is wanting, with the good pleasure of God, and the power of the Holy Ghost, rest on those who are here present, and with fear, trembling, and true faith stand before the altar bowing their necks and inwardly looking to Thee Who dwellest on high, and waiting for Thy heavenly goodness.

Metran. Who calls some of the assembly of the brethren to the Office of Deacon.

Archdeacon. (N.) is ordained Deacon for the holy and divine altar in the Church of [. . .] and of Mary the Mother of God, and the forty victorious martyrs at [. . .] under the jurisdiction of the apostolical seat of Antioch in Syria, which loves Christ and is loved by Him.

The Archdeacon, standing at the entrance of the sanctuary says,

Let us pray for these who are here present that the grace

and influence of the Holy Paraclete may descend and rest upon them from this time forth for evermore, and say on their behalf, "Lord have mercy," [thrice repeated].

Then, after an intercession on behalf of those to be ordained by the Priests who are present, and a secret prayer by the Metran for the person or persons to be made deacons, turning to the Lord's Table he shall pray aloud,

O Lord, grant that we may stand with purity of mind before the holy altar, and obtain mercy with these Thy servants at the day of recompense. For Thou art gracious and merciful. Glory, honour, and power is due to Thee, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now, henceforth and for evermore.

R. Amen.

Metran. Peace be with you all.

R. And with thy spirit.

Metran. Let us bow our heads before the Lord.

R. And before thee.

Then the Metran bowing down before the altar shall pray silently as follows:

O Lord God, look down we beseech Thee upon us and upon our ministry, and cleanse us from all uncleanness. Grant to these Thy servants grace from heaven, that through Thy bounty they may be made worthy to minister unto Thee without blame, and to obtain mercy from Thee, with all Thy saints who have served Thee from the beginning.

Then raising his voice, and praying aloud, he continues,

Because Thou art the Lord God of all, from Whom all good gifts do come, these Thy servants look unto Thee that Thy gifts may be continually preserved in their souls: that they may receive of Thy grace and be received; that they may be satisfied in their souls, and that their souls which long for thy gifts may be replenished and enlightened thereby: for Thou delightest in mercy and love towards mankind.

To Thee, therefore, and to Thy Son, and to the Holy Ghost be all glory, honour, and adoration, henceforth world without end.

R. Amen.

Then the Metran turning westward towards the candidate, who is still kneeling, lays his right hand upon his head and says

Thou art ordained deacon in the Holy Church of God.

Archdeacon. (N.) as a deacon to the holy and divine altar at
[. . . .] dedicated to [. . . .].

Metran. (N.) as a deacon to the holy altar of the Church of
[. . . .].

Archdeacon. Bless, O Lord.

Then the Metran shall make the sign of the cross three times on the forehead of him who is ordained, saying,

Metran. In the Name of the Father.

R. Amen.

Metran. And in the Name of the Son.

R. Amen.

Metran. And in the Name of the Holy Ghost, for everlasting life.

R. Amen.

The same rites shall be observed for each person who is made a Deacon.

Then after all are ordained, the Metran, turning to the holy table, and bowing down, shall pray secretly as follows.

O Lord God Almighty, we give thanks to Thee for all and in all, and we praise and magnify Thy Holy Name, for Thou hast done great things for us and poured Thy gift upon these Thy servants.

O Lord we pray and beseech Thee to hear us according to the multitude of Thy mercies, and vouchsafe to be well pleased with this ordination of deacon conferred on these Thy servants through the descent of Thy Holy Spirit.

Preserve also the calling of this election in holiness and purity. Choose us and them for good, that we may each in our stations and callings labour for Thee with the gospel talent which we have received.

Then raising his voice, the Metran shall continue,

Grant that we, with all those who have pleased Thee from the beginning, may obtain the reward of faithful and wise stewards at the Second Coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, Who is good, adorable, the author of life eternal and consubstantial with Thee, be all honour, glory, might and dominion henceforth world without end.

R. Amen,

Then the Metran turning to the newly-ordained shall take him by the right hand and raise him up.

Then blessing a white vestment, a stole, and a cap, he shall place the vestment on the newly-ordained, putting the stole on his left shoulder, and the cap on his head.

Then he shall raise the thurible, swinging it, and saying,

To the praise, honour and glory of the Holy and consubstantial Trinity and to the peace and edification of the Holy Church of God.

Then the Metran shall put incense into the thurible, and direct the newly-made deacon to wave it according to custom.

The same rites shall be observed for each person who is made a deacon.

Then the Metran shall give to each a cross, the Book of the Gospels, the seals and a purse, saying,

Receive power to read the Gospel in the Church of God, as well for the living as for the departed. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

He then directs him to kiss the Holy Table of Life, and gives him his hand to kiss.

Then all the priests salute the newly-ordained with the kiss of peace.

The Metran shall then administer to the newly-ordained the Divine and Most Holy Mysteries.

After which, at the conclusion of the Liturgy, he shall say,

Pray that ye be worthy of this great honour, and that we may all be hereafter united at the Right Hand.

R. In the great day of Christ the King.

2.—ORDINATION OF PRESBYTERS.

The Form and Order for making a Priest, according to the Ancient Rites of the Christians of St. Thomas.

The Metran on coming in to say the Liturgy shall require all those who are to be ordained Priests to stand in a row at the entrance of the sanctuary. At the end of the Liturgy, during which the candidates shall kneel on both knees before the Holy Table, the Metran shall sit on his chair, holding his pastoral staff. He shall then read to them the Apostolical Canons, and afterwards leading each one by the right hand shall bring them into the sanctuary, saying,

The Holy Ghost invites you to become a Presbyter in the Holy Church of [N.]

Then the Metran shall intercede both for himself and for the candidates, using the appointed intercessions, prayers, litanies, and suffrages.

He shall then put incense into the thurible, and offer incense before and around the Holy Table,

Then standing at the Holy Table he shall begin this Psalm, the Archdeacon and Priests who are present, repeating the alternate portions.

℣. O praise God in His holiness : praise Him in the firmament of His power.

℞. Pray the Holy One, Who dwelt on Mount Sinai and sanctified it, to descend upon His servants and sanctify them.

℣. Praise Him in his noble acts : praise Him according to His excellent greatness.

℞. The Most High descended on Mount Sinai, and laid his hands upon Moses : Moses laid his hands on Aaron, and thus it was carried on until John.

℣. Praise Him in the sound of the trumpet.

℞. May the Holy Spirit Who spake by the prophets and abode on the apostles, come and abide on these Thy servants and sanctify them.

℣. Praise Him upon the lute and harp.

℞. May the Holy Ghost Who rested upon the apostles in the upper room come and rest upon these Thy servants and sanctify them.

℣. Praise Him in the cymbals and dances.

℞. O Thou Holy Ghost Who didst commit unto the apostles power in heaven and earth, cause Thy tranquillity and peace to dwell in the four quarters of the world.

℣. Praise Him upon the loud cymbals.

℞. May the Holy Ghost Who endowed the apostles with wisdom to understand all languages, come and rest upon these Thy servants and make them wise and sanctify them.

℣. Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord.

℞. May the Right Hand which was stretched out upon the apostles and blessed them, come and rest upon these Thy servants, whom we pray Thee to bless and sanctify.

℣. Glory be to the Father, etc.

℞. As it was, etc.

Then is said the Nicene Creed, which all the candidates for the priesthood repeat in a loud voice.

Then the Archdeacon shall stand on the south side of the doors of the sanctuary, with his face towards the north, and say as follows.

May the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which always supplies what is wanting, with the good pleasure of God

and the power of the Paraclete, rest upon those here present, who in true faith and fear stand before God's altar looking for His divine goodness Who dwelleth on high.

After which the Metran, facing the candidates, with outstretched hands shall pray in secret as follows:—

O great and all-powerful, Lord God, mighty in power, unsearchable by the understanding, and wonderful before the children of men ; Who knowest the secrets of all hearts, and from Whom nothing is hid ; before Whom past, present, and future are outspread ; look with pity upon this servant [*or these servants*] chosen for the work of Thy sanctuary, and grant that he may receive the gift of the Holy Ghost with unshaken faith and blameless life, being worthy by the office now received to minister the glad tidings of Thy kingdom, to renew Thy people in the laver of regeneration, to stand before Thy holy altar offering spiritual gifts and perfect sacrifices ; to show forth the light of the only-begotten and co-eternal Son, and to adorn and beautify Thy Holy Church here upon earth : that so Thy gospel may be extended and Thy Holy and Blessed Name be for ever glorified.

Then turning to the Holy Table, and raising his voice, he shall continue to pray as follows:—

Grant, we beseech Thee, that this Thy servant [*or these Thy servants*] may, at the second coming of our Lord, receive the reward of good deeds done in the body, with the priests made perfect and clothed in white, through the abounding mercy of Thy only-begotten Son : by Whom and with Whom in the unity of the Holy Ghost be all honour, power, might, majesty, and dominion, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

R. Amen.

Metran. Peace be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Then the Metran turning towards the candidate for the priesthood, and laying his right hand upon his head, shall say as follows:—

(N.) is ordained Priest in the holy Church of God.

Archdeacon. (N.) is ordained Priest for the holy and divine altar at [.] dedicated to Mary the Mother of God and the forty victorious martyrs at [.] under the juris-

diction of the apostolical seat at Antioch in Syria, which loves Christ and is loved by him.

Metran. As a priest to the holy altar at [.].

Archdeacon. Bless, O Lord.

Then the Metran shall make the sign of the Cross three times on the forehead of him who is ordained, saying,

Metran. In the Name of the Father.

R. Amen.

Metran. And in the Name of the Son.

R. Amen.

Metran. And in the Name of the Holy Ghost for everlasting life.

R. Amen.

If there be more than one ordained the same rite shall be observed for each person who is made Priest.

Then the Metran, turning to the Holy Table and bowing down, shall pray secretly as follows.

O Lord God Almighty, we give thanks to Thee for all and in all, and we praise and magnify Thy Holy Name, for Thou hast done great things for us, &c. [as in the "Form for making of Deacons."]

Then the Metran, turning to the newly-ordained, shall take him by the right hand and raise him up.

Then blessing a chasuble, stole, white garment of linen, and girdle he shall place the priestly garment upon him, and the cap on his head. After which, laying his right hand on the head of the newly-ordained, the Metran shall breathe upon him in the form of a cross, saying,*

Receive the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins thou remittest they are remitted to him, and whosoever sins thou retainest they are retained.

R. Amen.

Metran. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

* "Therefore it is the first imposition of hands by which they are made Priests: since it is certain they are neither made so by the second laying on of hands, nor yet by the third, which is only used in the conclusion of ordination."—"Ista, igitur, prima manuum Impositio ea est per quam Sacerdotes efficiuntur, cum neque per secundam manuum impositionem fiant Presbyteri ut vidimus, nec per tertiam cum illa in fine ordinationis factitari solet." Merbesius *De Sacris Ordinationis Dissertatio* vi. 52.

Then the Metran shall raise the thurible, swinging it and saying,

To the praise, honour, and glory of the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity, and to the peace and edification of the Holy Church of God.

Then the Metran shall give to each one ordained the Holy Cross, the Book of the Gospels, the seals and a purse to carry, and shall direct those who have been ordained, to kiss the Holy Table, and the Metran shall give him his right hand to kiss, after which he and the rest of the Priests shall salute the newly-ordained with the kiss of peace, who shall then receive the Divine and Holy mysteries.

Metran. Pray that ye be worthy of this great honour, and that we, the stewards of God's mysteries, may all be hereafter united at the Right Hand.

R. With pardon and light in the great day of Christ our King.

3.—THE CONSECRATION OF A BISHOP.

The following Canons set forth and explain with great clearness the rites used in the Consecration of a Bishop (Metran):—

Canons concerning the election and Ordination of a Bishop. “I. The Metran (Bishop) is a pastor, watchman, keeper, preserver, a steward of the mysteries of God, * a guide and a servant of the servants of Christ. He is the spiritual physician of the whole body of the Church, of which our Blessed Saviour and Lord is the One Head. He is moreover the representative of God.

“II. The Metran must be blameless, vigilant, careful, sober, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not violent, nor given to wine, &c. [Here are paraphrased exactly, with but few amplifications the directions laid down in 1 Timothy, iii. 1—7.]

“III. The Metran is selected from the assembly of Priests by the influence of the Holy Ghost. He must be of full age, i.e. fifty years. He must have a good report of the college of priests as well as of the faithful. If the diocese be small and there be no one in it of the above age, he who is elected must be at the least thirty years of age.

“IV. The Metrans, Priests, Deacons, and the faithful shall

* “Dispensatores Mysteriorum Dei.” The Rhenish Testament.—I. Cor., iv. 1.—οἰκονομοὺς μυστηρίων Θεοῦ.

attend church with the Patriarch on Easter day (Holy Sunday). The Patriarch shall then ask "Is this he of whom ye approve to be your superior and pastor?" and they shall answer "Yes." Then he shall thrice inquire of them whether he be a fit person for the office, and they shall answer accordingly.

"V. After all have approved of his consecration, the Patriarch in conjunction with at least two other Metrans shall consecrate him. The Book of the Gospels, being opened, shall be placed over his head, while the Patriarch offers the prayers for the grace of the Paraclete. While the faithful stand, raising their hands to heaven, all the Metrans shall lay their hands on the head of the person to be ordained, and the Patriarch, or chief Metran, shall say, "We lay hands on this servant (N.) who has been elected pastor by God and His grace. In the Name of the only true God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the due maintenance of the apostolic confessions, and for the edification, prosperity, and glory of the spotless church of the living and all-Holy God." Then the Patriarch shall breathe on his face, saying, "Take the Spirit," and he shall be filled with the Paraclete. Then all the priests shall give him the kiss of peace; and he, having received the Holy mysteries with the Metrans and priest, shall bless the faithful. He shall fast for a year after his consecration, and by no means for ever afterwards drink wine, nor eat unclean flesh. So that his body being reduced he may be enabled to refrain from overmuch sleep. As he is bound to perform the duties of a Metran, and surrender his body for this purpose, he has no profit in nourishing and satisfying his body, for the body is in opposition to the will of the spirit.

It will be seen from the foregoing Canons regarding episcopal ordination, therefore, that the imposition of hands with prayer—to which is added the breathing on the person ordained by the Metran, or Bishop ordaining—is the rite by which the episcopal character is imparted by the Christians of St. Thomas, a rite in substantial identity with that of the Revised Ordinal of the English Church.

CHAPTER XIV.

FORMS OF ORDINATION IN USE AMONGST THE SEPARATED COMMUNITIES OF THE EAST.—(THE NESTORIANS.)

THE following forms in use amongst the Nestorians, are, in their main structure, very ancient, and, as will be seen, in general harmony with the Oriental type of such services* :—

1.—THE ORDERING OF DEACONS.

Prayer.

The Form and Order for making a Deacon, according to the Nestorian Rite. O Lord of all purity, Who lovest those who are pure, pour out Thy purifying light upon these Thy servants, and vouchsafe unto them the companionship of Thy power and help, that they may minister to Thy sacraments in all purity, and fulfil Thy holy commandments to the sanctification of their members, for Thou art the High and Holy One, Who didst humble Thyself from the height of Thy greatness to descend to this our world, and didst minister to the salvation of all mankind. O Lord, make these Thy servants meet to enter Thy holy sanctuary, and to minister before Thy high altar which is set up on earth after the pattern of that which is in heaven, Thou Who art the giver of all spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

* For other Forms used in the East, and comments on the same, see Morinus, *De Sacris Ordinationibus*, Pars, ii. Martene, *De Ritibus, Ecclesie*. Muratorius, *in loco*. The Introduction to Goar's *Euchologion*. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*; London, 1852. Churchill's *Mount Lebanon; A Ten Years' Residence from 1842 to 1852*; London, 1853. Churchill's *Druses and Maronites*; London, 1862. Trigautius *De Christianis apud Japonios Triumphis*, etc. Monachi, 1623.

Here the Bishop shall take them by the hand, and shall conduct them as far as the lamp hung in the centre of the bema; after which he shall present the following

Canon.

Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon Thy holy hill?

O Lord, cause me to stand before Thine altar with pure thoughts. [Ps. xv. to the end.]

Then the Bishop shall stand on the step of the altar, and those about to be ordained shall bow their heads under the lamp, and the Archdeacon shall say:

Let us pray. Peace be with us.

Prayer.

O Lord, may the desirable help of Thy mercies, which is given from Thy holy altar to all such as worship Thee in every generation of the world, surround these Thy servants, who now worship before Thee, seeking to obtain the same, on the right hand and on the left, before and behind, Thou Who art the Giver of all spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall throw incense into the censer, and shall intone the following anthem:

Teach me, O Lord, the way of Thy commandments, that I may keep them. Show me Thy way, O Lord, that I may walk uprightly. Teach me, O Lord, to walk in the way of Thy commandments, to keep Thy words, and to do Thy will. Set a watch over the doors of my members, lest the treasure of Thy gift be stolen from me.

Glory be to the Father, etc. Be watchful at all times, having your loins girt about, with your lamps burning, that ye may be worthy of that bliss which He has promised to those faithful servants whom when He cometh He shall find watching.

Archdeacon. Let us pray. Peace be with us.

Prayer.

We pray and beseech Thee, O Christ, Who being ministered unto wast yet pleased to minister unto the salvation of all, to

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admit and number these Thy servants among the Stephanite seven chosen by Thy holy apostles, Thou good [God] Who lovest the service which is performed heartily, Thou Giver of all spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall precent the following Canon, and whilst it is being said, those to be ordained shall bow themselves.

Psalm xxi., 2—8.

O our Saviour, let the power of Thy grace rest upon these Thy servants, that they may minister within Thine altar in all purity, even as do Thy angels.

O Lord, Who art praised by those who are nigh unto Thee, and magnified by Thy chosen ones, vouchsafe the companionship of Thy help to Thy worshippers who have partaken of Thy gift.

[In the original a number of supplementary Canons are added at the end of this office, having special reference to the Christian names of those who are to be ordained. Such as are applicable are directed to be inserted here.]

Prayer.

O Lord our God, Thou vast and immeasurable Ocean of mercy and pity, Thou unfathomable Depth of tenderness and compassion, we pray, supplicate, and beseech, that Thou wouldst increase Thy help to these Thy servants, and so strengthen them that they may approve themselves unto Thee in their ministry, reconcile Thy Majesty by their works, live in the straight way of Thy commandments, and evermore meditate in Thy life-giving and divine Scriptures, Thou Giver of spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Canon.

Psalm cxliii. 1—3.

O Lord, pour out Thy grace upon these Thy servants.

Whilst this Canon is being said the first time, the Bishop shall kneel before the altar, and give thanks unto God from his heart for having raised him to so high degree. When it is repeated he shall rise, and shall approach those about to be ordained, whom the Archdeacon shall cause to kneel upon the right

knee, the left being bent upwards to signify that they have already received one talent; and they shall place their closed hands upon their ears, the fore-fingers being pointed upwards, and their faces bent downwards. (This posture is to indicate that they are crucified to their ministry, and are become servants to the Priests and to the heads of the Priests.) Then the Ordainer shall give his staff to the Archdeacon, who shall say:

Let us pray. Peace be with us.

Then the Bishop shall lay his right hand upon the heads of those to be ordained, and extending his left in a supplicating posture, shall say in a low voice:

O our righteous God and all-merciful King, Who art rich in mercy, and Whose pity is overflowing, in Thy unspeakable grace Thou hast made me, O Lord, a channel of Thy gifts to Thy Holy Church, that in Thy Name I may impart the talents of the ministry of the Spirit, to the Ministers of Thy Holy Sacraments. And now, behold, according to the apostolical tradition, which has descended in a chain to us by the laying on of hands of the ministration of the Church, we present unto Thee these Thy servants, that they may be elect Deacons in Thy Holy Church; and we all pray in their behalf [*Repeat,*] that the grace of the Holy Ghost may descend upon them to perfect them for the performance of this ministry to which they have offered themselves through Thy grace, and through the mercies of Thy Only-Begotten, to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, we ascribe glory, honour, praise, and worship, [*with a loud voice,*] now and for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

Here the Bishop shall make the sign of the Cross over their heads. Then the Archdeacon shall say in an audible voice:

Lift up your eyes to the heights of the Highest, and pray for mercy from the compassionate God in behalf of the Sub-Deacons, [. . . .] [. . . .] and [. . . .], who are being ordained Deacons to the Church of God dedicated to Mary [. . . .] in the town (or village) of [. . . .], to which they are appointed.

Pray for them.

Then the Bishop shall place his right hand upon their heads, and shall stretch out his left hand as in supplication, and shall say in a low voice:

O Lord God, the strong, the Almighty, [*Repeat*] the holy and glorified One, Who keepest Thy covenant of grace and truth with such as fear Thee and keep Thy Commandments, in Thy grace. Thou hast given a knowledge of the truth to all mankind through the appearance of Thy Only-Begotten, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the flesh, and hast elected Thy holy Church, and set up in her Prophets, Apostles, Priests, and Doctors, for the perfecting of the Saints, and hast also set up in her righteous Deacons for the ministry of Thy glorious and holy Sacraments. And as Thou didst choose Stephen and his companions, so give now, in Thy mercy, to these Thy servants, O Lord, the grace of the Holy Ghost, that they may be elect Deacons in Thy Holy Church, and serve Thy pure altar with a pure heart and upright conscience, shine forth in works of righteousness for the ministry of Thy life-giving and divine Sacraments, and be made meet to receive from Thee the heavenly reward in the day of recompense for the pure and holy ministry which They serve before Thee, through the grace and compassion of Thy Only-Begotten, to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost we ascribe glory, honour, praise, and worship, [*with a loud voice,*] now and for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

Here the Bishop shall sign their heads, and shall direct them to bow themselves to the ground and to rise again. After which he shall take the stoles from off their necks, and shall place them over their left shoulder. Then the Archdeacon shall give the book of the Epistles to the Bishop, who shall place it in the hands of each of them, and then he shall sign them betwixt the eyes with his forefinger from below upwards, and from right to left, saying with a loud voice:

[N.] has been set apart, *consecrated* and perfected, to the work of the ministry of the Church, and to the Levitical and Stephanite office. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Here the Bishop shall kiss their heads, and shall take from them the book of the Epistles, and shall give it to the Archdeacon. Then the Bishop shall take his staff in his hand, and shall ascend the steps of the altar, and after having bowed and risen again, he shall turn towards the south and begin this

Canon.

The Lord is nigh unto all such as call upon Him in truth.
O Christ, Who gavest to Thy servants the spiritual talents of silver, give Thy help to these Thy worshippers who have received Thy gift.

It is not in us, O Jesus our Saviour, to make our way prosperous; for Thou art the disposer of our affairs by Thy power and wisdom.

We call upon Thee, O Lord, and we pray for pity and compassion out of Thy treasure, for we know that Thou art the compassionate and merciful One Who forgiveth our sins.

Whilst this Canon is being said the Archdeacon shall conduct the Deacon from the right to the left of the altar, and they shall salute the right and left of the altar, and shall bow to the Bishop and kiss his hand. And the Bishop shall bless each of them separately, and shall say :

Christ, Who has advanced thee to His ministry, perfect in thee the work of righteousness for ever.

Then the Deacons shall salute those who stand on the right and left of the altar, and these shall kiss their heads and invoke a blessing upon them. And when the Canon is ended, if the Liturgy is to be celebrated, the Bishop shall say the prayer from the Communion office beginning with :

O Lord, before the glorious throne of Thy Majesty, &c.

Then they shall come further into the nave of the church, bearing the cross, censer, and lights. But if there be no Liturgy, the Lord's Prayer shall be repeated, after which the Bishop shall say the following prayer :

Unto Thee be praise from those above, and thanks from those below, and glory and worship from all Thy creatures in heaven and in earth, O Thou Who art the cause of our life, and the righteous hope of our souls, and the enricher of our race by Thy gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

R. Amen. Give Thy blessing, O Lord.

Another.

Bless and sanctify our souls, purify our consciences, and strengthen our weakness, that we may minister before Thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Concluding Prayer.

O Thou adorable and glorious One, Whose ministers are light and spirit, in Thine unspeakable grace and unlimited goodness, set apart and offer to the ministry of Thy holy will these Thy servants, that in all humility and devoid of all glorying they may approve themselves before Thee as did Stephen and his companions, all the days of their life, now and for ever. Amen.

2.—THE ORDINATION OF PRESBYTERS.

The Bishop shall first cut off some of the hair of those to be ordained, and shall gird their loins with a girdle, and shall place the surplice on their left shoulder. And they shall stand in the centre of the bema, according to the order of their diaconate, and the Bishop shall begin with

The Form for making a Priest, according to the Nestorian Rite.

Glory be to God in the highest, &c.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

Prayer.

Let Thy power, O Lord our God, perfect through our weakness and imperfection this spiritual service, the gift of the priesthood, of which Thy grace has made us stewards, O Thou giver of spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Psalm lxxiv.

O ye priests, how exalted is the order of your ministry! The ministers of light and spirit, the glorious Gabriel and the great Michael, whose names proclaim their excellency, stand in awe of it, and if we compare them with the priesthood they are much inferior to it.

Then the Doxology shall be said, and the first verse of the above psalm shall be repeated; after which the following:

Come and let us draw near to the priesthood, which is the salt of the earth, and which by the might of the Spirit gives a savour to the unsavoury.

Archdeacon. Peace be with us.

Prayer.

O Lord, clothe these Thy worshippers whose hands are stretched out before the throne of Thy Majesty, with the mantle of the priesthood wherewith Thou didst endue Thy faithful ones under the old and new covenant, and strengthen them that they may be blameless, and that they may offer up unto Thee by day and by night the sacrifices of reconciliation, O Thou giver of spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall put incense into the censer, and shall precent this anthem :

He that is of clean hands and a pure heart. For the Lord helpeth him by the hand. When the priest comes before the holy altar he stretcheth forth his hands unto heaven in purity, and he invokes the Spirit which descends from on high, and consecrates the Body and Blood of Christ. [*Repeat.*]

Glory be to the Father, &c. The Priest secretly invokes the Spirit, Who descends from on high to do his will, and consecrates the Body and Blood of Christ, which the people partake of, and thereby live for ever.

¶ If more than one are to be ordained the following shall be said :

Thy priests, O Lord, are clothed with righteousness, and Thine upright ones with glory. Stand in awe and sin not. O ye holy Priests, wash your consciences from the pollution of sin. [*Repeat.*]

Glory be to the Father, &c. O ye Priests, who are made meet to be angels, keep yourselves from iniquity.

Prayer.

O Lord, anoint these Thy servants with a holy anointing, and let Thy hand help them, and Thy arm strengthen them, that they may exercise their priesthood in Thy Holy Church, and perfect the ministry of Thy sin-forgiving Sacraments to the edification of the souls of Thy worshippers, Thou giver of spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Canon.

Psalm lxxxix. 15—22.

If only one is to be ordained, the following Canon shall be said :

Psalm xxi. 2—8.

O Thou King, the Maker and the Made, the one Lord and united Son, present these Thy servants to the work of the consecration of the Sacraments and of baptism, and strengthen them by Thy adorable command that they may be priests unto Thee in all chastity, both secretly and openly, according to the requirements of the law, and be ordained and furnished [with good works] here and in the world to come.

O Christ, the true Priest, Whose priesthood never faileth, vouchsafe to these Thy servants what they stand in need of, and clothe them with beauty and comeliness, that they may exercise their priesthood before Thee, diligently—a priesthood which Thou shalt approve of. And grant that at the last they may lay down the talents which they have gained thereby, and be worthy to hear the joyful invitation : Enter into the joy which passeth not away.

[Here follow the supplementary Canons adapted to the Christian names of those about to be ordained, as in the office for the ordering of Deacons.]

Prayer.

Pour out Thy grace, O Lord our God, upon these Thy servants, and perfect their hands in purity, that they may approach the ministry of Thy sin-forgiving sacraments, and consecrate the bosom of holy and sin-forgiving baptism, the spring in which mortal children are begotten to immortality, through Thy grace and mercy, Thou Giver of spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Canon.

Do good, O Lord, to Thy servants, according to Thy word.
O Thou righteous One, Who committedst to Thine Apostles power and authority over the heights and depths, Grant, O Lord, to these Thy worshippers the power of Thy grace.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, that the Holy Ghost, the Comforter,

Which descended and rested upon the disciples, may rest upon the heads of these Thy worshippers.

Prayer.

Pour out, O Lord, Thy overflowing grace, and Thine abundant gift upon the heads of these Thy worshippers who seek Thy Divine gift; strengthen them to minister at Thy holy altar, and to declare the tidings of Thy glory to the people who are redeemed by Thy Cross, and to make known Thy wonders to the flock, sealed by Thy living and life-giving sign, O Thou giver of all spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Canon.

Unto Thee lift I up mine eyes, O Thou Who dwellest in the Heavens. O Lord our God, pour out Thy grace upon these Thy worshippers.

Then the Archdeacon shall cause those to be ordained to kneel on both knees, with their hands lifted up above their eyes, their heads bent downwards, and with the surplice still on their shoulders like deacons.

Note.—The kneeling of the Presbyter on both knees shows, that he has received two talents, and his hands outstretched above his eyes is intended to denote that he has received permission, authority, and grace, to invoke the Spirit and to bless, to beget sons of the Spirit, and to feed them with spiritual food.

Then the Bishop shall give his staff to the Archdeacon, who shall proclaim :

Let us pray. Peace be with us.

Prayer.

[*In a low voice.*] The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which perfects at all times that which is wanting, by the will of God the Father, and the power of the Holy Ghost, be with us evermore, and perfect through our hands this high and awful service for the salvation of our lives, [*in a loud voice*] now and for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

Archdeacon. Peace be with us.

¶ *Then the Bishop shall lay his right hand upon those to be ordained, and shall say in a low voice :*

O our righteous God, &c. [as in the office for the ordering

of Deacons, with the substitution of the word "Presbyter" for that of "Deacon."]

R. Amen.

Then the Archdeacon shall proclaim: "Lift up your eyes, etc.," [as in the ordering of Deacons, with the change just noted.]

Then the Bishop shall lay his right hand upon their heads, and with his left stretched out, he shall say in a low voice:

O Lord God, the strong, the Almighty, [*Repeat,*] Maker of heaven and earth, and all that therein is, Who hast chosen Thy holy Church, and set up in it Prophets, Apostles, Doctors, and Priests, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edification of the Body of the Church; look now, O God, the Lord of hosts, the Sovereign Ruler of all the world, upon these Thy servants, elect them with a holy election by the descent of the Holy Ghost, give them the word of truth in the opening of their mouth, and choose them to the Priesthood, O Lord, the mighty God, [*here the Bishop shall take hold of their right hand,*] that they may lay their hands upon the sick that they may be healed; and may minister at Thy holy altar, with a pure heart and upright conscience, offering up unto Thee oblations of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving in Thy holy Church, and consecrating, through the power of Thy gift, the sin-forgiving bosom of mystical birth towards such as shall be called by Thy grace to the communion of the adoption of Thy Majesty and adorn with works of righteousness the children of the holy Catholic Church, to the glory of Thy Name, so that in the new world they may be approved for this pure ministry which they shall serve, and stand with confidence before the awful seat of Thy Majesty, through the grace and mercy of Thy Only-Begotten, to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, we ascribe glory, honour praise, and worship, now and for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

Here the Bishop shall sign the heads of the ordained, after which he shall direct them to bow themselves and to stand up again. Then the Bishop shall take the surplice from off their shoulders, and shall invest them therewith, and he shall take the stole from off their left shoulders, and shall hang it round their necks. This done, the Bishop shall take the

adorable Gospel, and shall place it in the hands of the ordained, and shall sign them betwixt the eyes with the thumb of his right hand, and shall say :

[N.] has been set apart, consecrated, and perfected, for the work of the Presbyterate of the Church, and for the office of the Aaronic Priesthood, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall kiss their heads ; and the above shall be done to each in rotation.

After signing them, the Bishop shall take from them the Gospel, and shall give it to the Archdeacon, and the ordained shall bow and rise up again. Then the Bishop shall take his staff in his hand, and shall ascend the step of the altar and do obeisance, and turning towards the south, he shall begin this

Canon.

The Lord is nigh unto all such as call upon Him in truth, &c. [As in the office for the ordering of Deacons.]

Concluding Prayer.

O Lord, the mighty God [*Repeat*], let the right hand of Thy mercy rest, and pour out the power of Thy grace upon these Thy servants, and sanctify them, that they may perfect the great work of the Priesthood of the Church which is the possessor of the Sacraments, and the giver of divine gifts. Crown them with the crown of the Aaronic Priesthood, that they may exercise the office of Priests to Thy holy altar in all chastity ; beautify them with the ornament of righteousness ; endue them with power to perfect Thy ministry gladly and joyfully ; and brood over their heads, that through the power of Thy gift, they may receive the gift of the spiritual Priesthood, and in purity serve Thy holy and pure altar ; make known to all the Churches of the East the glad tidings of life ; consecrate the sin-forgiving bosom of Holy Baptism in which mortal children are begotten to immortality ; grant pardon to Thy people, through the oblation of Thy Body and Blood ; and take from Thy holy altar a heavenly power from Thy holiness, that they may perfect Thy commandments, and be made worthy to stand before Thee at the last day, when Thou shalt come with Thy holy angels, and for ever and ever. Amen.

3.—THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.

NOTE.—*Bishops and Metropolitans are not to be ordained except on Sunday, or on one of the greater festivals, or on a day of commemoration.*

The Form
and Order for
making a Bis-
hop according
to the Nes-
torian Rite.

The Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, together with the faithful, shall meet the Patriarch, carrying the cross, gospel, lights, and censer, and he who is to be ordained shall stand and read the symbol of his faith before the believers. Then the fathers shall enter the vestry and put on their vestments, and he who is to be ordained shall stand with them in the order of his presbyterate. After which they shall go forth bearing the cross, gospel, censer, and lights, and shall pass through the nave of the church into the bema.

NOTE.—*If a Patriarch be the ordainer, the Bishops and Metropolitans shall not carry their staves in their hands, neither shall they put on their robes without his permission. If a Metropolitan, they shall take their staves. And they shall cause him who is ordained to come into the centre of the bema, where he shall worship, and the Head shall begin with—*

Our Father, which art in heaven, etc.

Archdeacon. Peace be with us.

Prayer.

The adorable and glorious Name of Thy great Godhead is worshipped, praised, and blessed, by those above and those below, O Thou Giver of divine gifts, O Lord of all, etc.

Psalm cxxxii.

Archdeacon. Peace be with us.

Prayer.

We pray and beseech Thee, O Thou living and life-giving Spirit, the Spring of divine sanctification, the overflowing Treasure of all wisdom, the Source of all spiritual gifts,—Thee, Who shinest and art resplendent with the holy radiance of glory, and Who in the motions of Thyself, and without time, being of the substance of the *propriety* of the Father, ever proceedest and pervadest, and doest everything in heaven and in earth by Thine own command, from the overflowing of Whose eternal gifts the streams of prophecy overflow, and from Whose Atlantic ocean the apostolical gifts are rained down,—we pray and beseech Thee to pour forth the gifts of Thine apostolic priesthood into the heart of this Thy servant, and to crown his head with the honourable crown of the high-

Priesthood of the Church, that by the rays of the light of his doctrine the souls of his children may be enlightened, and the armies of darkness be destroyed from among his flock; O Thou Who art the Offspring of the glorious essence of the Father, the Offspring of the Council of the adorable Godhead, Thou Giver of spiritual gifts, O Lord of all, etc.

Anthem.

Let Thy Priests be clothed with righteousness, and Thy saints with glory. Those who served unto the example and shadow of heavenly things. The priesthood of the house of Aaron ministered to the mystery, figure, and shadow of the law: but the apostleship of Simon has received the substance, perfection, and the truth, wherewith the Heir of the Father was pleased to fish the earth, and through fishermen He fished the whole world, which now offers up glory, and is baptized in the perfection of the Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Glory be to Thee. [*Repeat.*]

The Lord our God doeth whatever pleaseth Him in heaven and in earth. It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. The Holy Ghost doeth all things by the power of His gifts: He causeth the race of prophecy to run, and by His grace maketh Priests perfect; it is He Who giveth wisdom to the simple, Who revealed to the fisherman the Persons of His Godhead, and Who in His power holdeth all wonderful the ordinances of the Church. He is the Offspring of the Essence of the Father, the Offspring of the Council of the adorable Father and His Only-begotten Son,—the Holy Ghost. Glory be to Thee.

I will magnify Thee, O Lord my King. He received from the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost. And this is the promise that He hath promised us, even eternal life. O Jesus, our Lord, Thou didst perfect and confirm, by the hands of Thy holy disciples, the promise of the Father which He promised, and they received the gift of the Holy Ghost, and went forth discipling by baptizing the nations and the people, and through divers tongues converted them to the truth.

Glory be to the Father, &c. Blessed is He Who exalteth

you, O ye priests. Blessed is He Who maketh you prosperous, O ye soldiers of the truth. Adorable is the Holy Ghost by Whose power ye have weakened all heresies, and have brought together the rational sheep of Jesus our Saviour, which He purchased with His precious Blood on Golgotha. O Mar Ignatius, Polycarp, Athanasius, Eustathius, Meletius, Gregory,* Basil, Gregory,* Ambrose, Diodorus, John [Chrysostom,] Theodorus the sea of wisdom, Mar Nestorius the persecuted martyr, and Alexander the conqueror, the builders up of the Holy Church, the Stewards of the mysteries of God, and the teachers of the true worship. Their prayers be to us a wall.

Archdeacon. Peace be with us.

Prayer.

Brood, O Lord, with the broodings of Thy Spirit, and spread the light of Thy countenance upon this Thy servant who stands before Thee, that he may be a shepherd to Thy flock. Cause the rays of Thy brightness to shine upon him, clothe him with the garment of Thy glory, and give into his hand Thy power, and the sword of the word of Thy command, that he may feed the sheep of Thy pasture according to the will of Thy Majesty. And give him authority from Thy power, and strength from Thy Right Hand, that he may approve himself before Thee agreeably to Thy Will, and be a temple to Thine honour, O Lord of all, etc.

Canon.

Psalm cxix. 65—73.

O Thou righteous [God,] Who committedst to Thine Apostles power and authority over the heights and depths, Give, O Lord, the power of Thy grace to this Thy worshipper.

O Thou good [God,] Who enrichedst Thy Apostles through the descent of the Comforter, gladden this Thy servant with the gift which Thou shalt give unto him.

* Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Gregory the Enlightener.

¶ *Then every Bishop present, according to the order of precedence, shall say one of the Supplementary Canons: after which the Head, [the Patriarch or Metropolitan,] shall say this*

Prayer.

Pour out, O Lord, the power of Thy grace upon this Thy servant, and set on his head the beautiful and glorious crown of the high Priesthood, and give into his hand the shepherd's staff, that he may guide, feed, and nourish the flocks of Thy pasture all the days of his life, and finally be of the number of those who shall stand at Thy Right Hand, O Lord of all, &c.

Canon.

Psalm cxxiii. or Psalm lxvii.

O Lord, pour out Thy grace upon this Thy servant.

¶ *After which the Gloria Patri shall be said. The Canon ended, the Archdeacon shall spread the cover of the Gospel upon the back of him who is to be ordained, and the Head shall place the Gospel upon the cover, in such wise as that the book shall face him who is to read therefrom. Then the Archdeacon shall say:*

Let us stand prepared to hear the holy Gospel. The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ from the preaching of S. Matthew.

S. Matt. xvi. 13—19. S. John, xxi. 15—18. S. Matt. xvi. 19.

¶ *Then the following shall be read upon the backs of two Bishops or more.*

The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ from the preaching of S. Luke.

S. Luke, x. 1, 2, and

Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. Behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Beware of men. Behold, I give you a new commandment, that ye should love one another. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give. Verily I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree together on earth, as touching anything that they shall ask in My Name, it shall be done for them of My Father Which is in heaven; for where two or three are gathered together in My

Name, there am I in the midst of them. Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Notwithstanding in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in Heaven. Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see: for I tell you that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them. And when He had said this, He breathed on them and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained. And whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.

People. Glory be to Christ our Lord.

Then the Bishop shall close the Gospel, and shall leave it upon the back of him who is being ordained. After which the Bishops shall place their right hands upon his sides until the ordination is pronounced, and the Archdeacon shall say:

Peace be with us.

Prayer.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which perfects at all times that which is wanting, by the Will of God the Father, and the power of the Holy Ghost, be with us evermore, and perfect through our feeble hands this high and awful service, for the salvation of our life, now and for ever and ever. Amen.

Here the Head shall sign himself, and the Archdeacon shall say:

Peace be with us.

Then the Head shall say this prayer with his right hand laid upon the head of him that is being ordained, and his left stretched out:

O our good God and all-merciful King [*Repeat*] Who art

rich in mercy, and whose pity is overflowing,—Thou, O Lord, in Thine unspeakable mercy hast made me a channel of Thy divine gifts to Thy holy Church, to give the talents of the ministry of the Spirit to the ministers of Thy holy sacraments; and now, according to the apostolical tradition which has descended to us by the laying-on of hands, of the ministration of the Church, behold I offer before Thee this Thy servant to be elect Bishop in the holy Church in the town [*or city*] of And let us all pray on his behalf [*Repeat*], that the grace of the Holy Ghost may descend upon him to perfect him to the work of this ministry unto which he is advanced, through the grace and pity of Thy Only-Begotten, to Whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, we ascribe glory, honour, praise, and worship, now and for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

Here he shall sign the head of him who is being ordained.

Archdeacon. Lift up your hearts to the heights of the Highest, and supplicate the mercy of the compassionate God in behalf of Presbyter [*or, the Monk*], who is being ordained Bishop over the town of [*or, over the Church of God in the city of*], to which he is appointed. Pray for him.

R. It is meet and right so to do.

Then the Head shall lay his right hand upon the head of him who is being ordained, having his left stretched out as in supplication, and shall say:

O Thou great and everlasting God, Who knowest all mysteries, Who createdst all things by the power of Thy word, and upholdest and governest all by the meek command of Thy will, and Who doest for us at all times far more than we can ask or think, according to Thy might which worketh in us ;—Thou, Who hast redeemed Thy Holy Church by the precious Blood of Thy well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and hast set up in her apostles, prophets, doctors, and priests, that through them the knowledge of the truth, which Thy only-begotten Son gave to mankind might be multiplied ;—lift up, now, the light of Thy countenance upon this Thy

servant, and elect him with a holy election, through the unction of the Holy Ghost, that he may be a perfect Priest unto Thee, and a follower of the true High Priest, Who gave Himself for us, and through the same Holy Spirit, confirm to this Thy servant, that unto which he is advanced. Vouchsafe, O God, the Father of Truth, the holy and glorious One, that he may feed Thy flock in uprightness of heart; that with his tongue he may preach the right word of truth; be a light to those who sit in darkness; an instructor to such as lack knowledge; and a teacher of babes and children. Clothe him, O Lord, with power from on high, that he may bind and loose both in heaven and on earth; that by the laying on of his hands, the sick may be healed, and miracles be wrought by him in Thy Holy Name, and to the glory of Thy great Godhead; and that through the power of Thy gift he may make priests, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and deaconesses, for the ministry of Thy Holy Church; and gather together Thy people, and the sheep of Thy pasture, and perfect the souls over which he is made overseer, in the fear of God and in all purity; and at last, stand before Thy awful throne with confidence, and be worthy to receive from Thee the reward promised to the faithful stewards of the household, through the grace and pity of Thy Only-Begotten, to Whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, we ascribe glory, honour, praise, and worship [*with a loud voice*], now and for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

Here he shall sign the head of the ordained; after which the Bishops shall remove their hands from his sides, and the Gospel from his back, and he shall worship, and then stand up. Then the Archdeacon shall take the Mäapra and Berona from off the altar, and shall give them to the Head, who shall invest therewith the ordained, and shall say:*

The Lord clothe thee with the garment of heavenly glory; arm thee with hidden and spiritual weapons; adorn thee with the works of righteousness; and beautify thee with the gifts of chastity; that without spot or blemish, thou mayest feed the sheep committed to thy reverence, in the fear of God and in all holiness, now and for ever. Amen.

* The distinctive Episcopal Vestments.

Then the Head shall give the staff into his right hand, and shall say :

The rod of power which Jesus Christ the Lord sent out of Zion. May He feed thee, and through thee guide those whom thou shalt feed. Amen.

Then he shall sign him betwixt the eyes with his thumb from below upwards, and from right to left, and shall say :

N. is set apart, consecrated, and perfected, to the great work of the Episcopate in the city [or town] of In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

R. Amen.

Then he shall kiss his forehead, and shall say :

Christ Who has elected thee to feed His sheep, strengthen thee to approve thyself to the will of His Majesty, even unto the end. Amen.

Then the ordained shall bow before the Head, and kiss his right hand, and the Head shall make him stand in his proper place, where all present shall salute him. After which the prayer of the Kanké shall be said ; and then all shall go forth into the choir, and the newly-ordained shall read the Gospel, preach, and offer the oblation. If two are ordained at the same time, one shall read the Gospel, and the other shall offer. If three the third shall preach.

The Nestorian Forms are here given in their completeness, being taken mainly from Mr. Badger's work descriptive of that community. Though complex and involved in their construction, and occasionally redundant in their language, they are full of Oriental characteristics and eminently patristic in their tone. The details of the rites are not so simple as those of the Christians of St. Thomas, and for that reason, amongst others, have been printed at length.*

* Another Nestorian form for the Ordination of Priests makes the Bishop pray for those whom he is ordaining that "corde puro, conscientiaque bonâ, inserviant Altaribus Tuis sanctis, cum offerent Tibi obla-

Having now set forth some of the most ancient Forms for the Consecration of Bishops and the Ordination of Priests, as used in the Western Church, together with those which are followed in the East, as well by churches in communion with the See of Constantinople, as by certain anciently-separated religious bodies ; and having shown that, however much they differ, there is a principle common to all ; and that this principle is equally embodied in the Revised Ordinal of the Church of England, it now becomes necessary to turn to the consideration of certain events of the sixteenth century, one of the most important of which is the fact of the valid consecration of Archbishop Parker.

tiones orationum et sacrificia laudis in Ecclesiâ Tuâ Sancta.”—Martene *De Ritibus Ecclesiæ*, vol. ii. p. 570. The Coptic Form for ordaining a Priest is in its phraseology almost identical. The Rite for the Consecration of their Patriarch, as quoted by Le Quien (vol. ii. p. 113), contains the following words referring to the Christian sacrifice—words which are identical in substance with the normal teaching of the English Church :—“*Conserva sacerdotium ejus inculpatum usque in finem, ut ministret tibi per sacrificium spirituale cunctis diebus.*”

CHAPTER XV.

ARCHBISHOP MATTHEW PARKER.

QUEEN Mary went to her rest, after a brief reign of a little more than five years, on the 17th of November, 1558; and her half-sister Elizabeth was at once proclaimed Queen. Two days after Elizabeth's accession, Cardinal Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, died. The new Queen was crowned at Westminster Abbey by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, on January, the 14th of the following year.

On the 29th of April, 1559, a Bill became law, entitled "An Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical and spiritual, and for abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." Of the prelates, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, Llandaff, Coventry, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle, with Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, had vigorously opposed the Bill in its passage through the House of Lords; and when the Oath of Supremacy was afterwards tendered to them, first to one and then to another, as necessity arose, they all refused to take it, with the single exception of Anthony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff.* Accordingly, sooner or later, they were deprived. Their fate was various. Heath, Archbishop of York, re-

* Heylin's *History of the Reformation* (History of Queen Elizabeth), p. 120 *et seq.* London: 1661.

mained in seclusion in one of his own purchased houses ; Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, spent the remainder of his time with Archbishop Parker,* by whom he was kindly entertained, and at his death honourably interred. The like hospitality and charity were extended by Parker to Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely. Cuthbert Scott, Bishop of Chester, Richard Pates, Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, went abroad. Bonner, Bishop of London, was imprisoned ; others, amongst whom was the Bishop of Carlisle, were fined.

In the interval between the deprivation of the old, and the appointment of new Bishops, a considerable amount of property belonging to the various Sees was taken possession of by certain commissioners, under the authority of Acts of Parliament, first, for exchanging Bishops' lands, and, secondly, for conveying to the Queen the tenths and first-fruits, which the late Queen Mary had surrendered. In addition to these, a third Act was passed, in some haste, conveying to the Queen all the lands and

* Cuthbert Tonstall was not deprived until September 29, 1559, and died November 18, of the same year at Lambeth. He exercised jurisdiction as Bishop of Durham up to September 17, as the register of the Dean and Chapter of Durham proves. Moreover, there are two letters from Tonstall himself, dated from London, August 19, 1559, to Sir Thomas Parry and to Cecil, in which he declares that he "would be as glad to serve the Quene's Highnesse," as "any subject in ye realme." There is also a letter from the Privy Council to the Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, dated from Hampton Court, September 27, 1559, and now preserved in Corpus Christi College Library (MSS. vol. 109, p. 61), desiring him to lodge Tonstall in his house ; a second, in the same collection, informing the Archbishop-elect how pleased they were that Tonstall was likely to conform.—"Burialls in Lambeth, 1559. November the xxix day, Cuthbert Tunstall was buried."

possessions of the religious houses, which had been so properly restored to the Church in the previous reign. Thus matters stood during the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Under the advice of Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon, the vacant See of Canterbury—to fill which the name of Dr. Nicholas Wootton had been mentioned—was formally offered to Dr. Matthew Parker,* who had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, the Queen's mother, and sometime Dean of Lincoln. So early as December 9th, 1558, a correspondence had passed between Sir Nicholas Bacon and Dr. Parker, in which the latter was summoned to London; and this was followed by a second more imperative summons in the Queen's name three weeks afterwards.

It was impossible, however, that the arrangements for Parker's elevation to the Primacy of all England could be completed until an Act restoring the appointment of Bishops by election, under a *Congé d'eslire*, had passed.† This having taken place, a

* Matthew Parker was born at Norwich, August 6, 1504, and was educated there until he went to Cambridge, and was admitted a Bible-clerk of Corpus Christi College. He graduated B.A. 1524, M.A. 1527, and was made Fellow September 6, of the same year. He was ordained Sub-deacon December 22, 1526, Deacon April 20, 1527, and Priest June 15, 1527. In 1533 he was licensed by Archbishop Cranmer as a Preacher throughout the Province of Canterbury. In 1535 he became B.D., and, by the interest of Queen Anne Boleyn, was promoted to the Deanery of Stoke College, near Clare, Suffolk. In 1538, being chaplain to Henry VIII., he became D.D.; in 1541 was made Prebendary of Ely, in 1544 Master of Corpus Christi College, and later Dean of Lincoln. In the second year of Queen Mary's reign he was dispossessed of all this preferment, and lived in retirement until the accession of Elizabeth.

† See Appendices II. to VIII., which contain Acts of Parliament and other documents relating to the appointment of Bishops from the time of Henry VIII.

Congé d'eslire to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury was formally issued on the 18th of July, when the members of the chapter met on the 1st of August, and elected the Queen's nominee, so that Dr. Matthew Parker thus became Archbishop-elect of Canterbury.

On the 9th of September, Letters Patent were issued appointing a Commission to confirm Parker's election and to give him Episcopal Consecration. The commission was addressed to Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, Bourne, Bishop of Bath, Poole, Bishop of Peterborough, Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, and to William Barlow and John Scory, Bishops, who had been deprived under Queen Mary. By an unusual inadvertence a clause enabling the majority to act, in case of the refusal of any individual or individuals, was omitted. We know, however, that Tonstall, Bourne and Poole, declined to take part in the consecration, and were soon afterwards deprived. Turberville of Exeter, and Thirlby of Ely shared the same fate, and thus Kitchen of Llandaff was left the only Bishop in actual possession of his See.

Two formidable impediments were consequently presented to the Government : 1. The law of the land unquestionably required four Bishops to confirm the election of the new Primate. 2. The Revised Ordinal, legalized under Edward the Sixth, had been formally and regularly abolished at the commencement of Mary's reign ; while the old English unreformed Rite, used then once more, had in its turn also been just set aside by Elizabeth : so that Cecil, who consulted Parker about the difficulties, was quite unable to solve them. Some noted Canon lawyers, however, came to the rescue. Doctors May,

Weston, Leeds, Harvey, Yale and Bullingham,* were of opinion that a new Commission might be issued, authorizing certain Bishops who had no Sees both to confirm and consecrate the Archbishop-elect.

Accordingly, on the 6th of December, 1559, a Second Commission was appointed by Letters Patent, addressed to Kitchen of Llandaff, Barlow, sometime Bishop of Bath, Hodgkins, sometime Suffragan-Bishop of Bedford, (all of whom had been consecrated according to the rites of the ancient English Pontifical,) to Scory and Coverdale, who had been made Bishops by Cranmer, he having used the revised Ordinal in so doing, to John, suffragan-Bishop of Thetford, and to Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, enjoining them, or at least four of them, to proceed to confirm the election of, and to consecrate, the Archbishop-elect.

* (α) William May, LL.D., was Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1535, Chancellor and First Prebendary of Ely in 1541, Dean of S. Paul's in 1545, ejected in Queen Mary's reign, restored by Queen Elizabeth, and elected to the see of York, August 5, 1560, but died the same day. (β) Robert Weston was originally a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and then Principal of Broadgate's Hall, and Chancellor of Exeter : but quitting these preferments in Queen Mary's reign became afterwards D.C.L., Dean of the Arches' Court, and later on one of the Lords' Justices and Chancellor of Ireland. (γ) Edward Leeds was a member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, LL.D. in 1569, and afterwards Master of Clare Hall from 1558 to 1571. He was also in turn Prebendary of Ely, Precentor of Lichfield, and Chaplain to Archbishop Parker. (δ) Henry Harvey, LL.D., was Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, from 1560 to 1584. He was also Prebendary of Lichfield and Prebendary of Salisbury. (ε) Thomas Yale, LL.D., was Chancellor of the Diocese of Canterbury under Parker, Judge of the Court of Audience (*Vide Strype's Life of Parker*, bk. ii. c. 3,) Prebendary of Lichfield and Keeper of the Prerogative Court. He assisted Parker in his antiquarian researches. It will be seen, therefore, that the legal Opinion referred to above was the production of men of weight, learning, position, and dignity.

Dr. Parker's election was confirmed by Bishops Barlow, Scory, Hodgkins, and Coverdale, on the 7th of September. He did not, however, appear in person, but by proxy. His proxies were Dr. William May, Dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. Nicholas Bullingham, his grace's chaplain, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. The deed of Confirmation exists,* and is printed at length in the Appendix.

The archbishop's election having been thus confirmed, he solemnly received episcopal consecration at the hands of the same prelates early in the morning† of Sunday, the 17th of December, 1559, in the chapel of his palace at Lambeth. Formal and official records of this important consecration, with a minute account of all the circumstances attending it, were made both in the Register of the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed, in this case, by the same four Notaries Public who had similarly attested Cardinal Pole's consecration; and also in a document, in all probability the original copy of the act, which is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which Parker belonged.

Now, when it is noted that Archbishop Parker was the consecrator of all the Bishops of his province who were appointed during the reign of Elizabeth (excepting those who had consecrated him), including Thomas Young,‡ in the first place Bishop

* See Appendix XII.

† It was perfectly in accordance with the custom of the ancient Church of England, as also with that of the Churches of France, Spain, and Italy, that the consecration of a Bishop should take place very early in the morning. *Vide Martene, De Ritibus Ecclesiæ, Lib. 1, cap. viii. art. x. sec. 13.*

‡ This Thomas Young, Archbishop of York, consecrated John Best, Bishop of Carlisle, and James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, on

of St. David's and afterwards translated to York, where Young consecrated all his suffragans, it must follow that the whole of the Bishops of the two Provinces of York and Canterbury, with the single exception* of Dr. Marmaduke Middleton, who was translated from Waterford to St. David's in 1582, traced their spiritual descent through Parker; and that consequently the validity of the ordinations in the Church of England ever since that period have mainly depended, and still mainly depend, upon Parker's consecration. As no person acquainted with the subject can doubt this proposition to be faithfully stated and to be sound, the work of proving the fact and validity of that consecration will be now commenced.†

March 2, 1561; he likewise consecrated William Downham, Bishop of Chester, on May 4, 1561, and Richard Barnes, Bishop of Nottingham (afterwards translated respectively to Carlisle and Durham), on March 9, 1567.

* John Thornborough was translated from the See of Limerick to that of Bristol in 1603. He died Bishop of Worcester, having been so appointed in 1616, on the 7th of March, 1641.

† Before the main argument of this treatise is summed up, evidence will be produced showing the union of several independent successions united in the person of Archbishop Laud,—through whom all the present bishops of the Anglican obedience have received the Apostolical Succession.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONSECRATION OF WILLIAM BARLOW.

BEFORE considering the facts regarding the consecration of Bishop William Barlow and others, it may be well to give at length a plain and clear account of the various processes and steps by which an English Bishop is made. The rules that were observed in the reign of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth are substantially, and to all intents and purposes, the same which are so duly, scrupulously, and carefully observed in the present day.

Now, the order of making a Bishop in the Church of England consists, in the main, of eight separate and distinct acts :—1. Nomination; 2. *Congé d'eslire*; 3. Election; 4. Royal Assent; 5. Confirmation; 6. Creation; 7. Consecration; 8. Installation.

The following is the mode in which a Bishop is made :—The See being vacant, the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral give notice of the same to the King, requesting His Majesty's leave to choose another. The King grants his *Congé d'eslire*. Thereupon the Dean summons a chapter, which must be held within twenty days after receiving the same, or the members will run the risk of a *præmunire* (*Vide Stat. 25, Hen. viii. cap. 17*). They formally and regularly elect the person recommended by His Majesty's letter,* and that election

Mode of making
a Bishop in
England.

* Anciently bishoprics in England were simply donative, *per traditionem baculi pastoralis et annuli*, until King John by his Great

having been accepted by the person elected is certified to the King as well as to the Archbishop of the province.* Thereupon the King grants his royal assent, under the Great Seal, exhibited to the Archbishop, with command to confirm and consecrate the Bishop-elect.

Upon this the Archbishop subscribes his "Fiat confirmatio," giving commission under his archiepiscopal seal to his Vicar-General to perform all the acts needful for completing the confirmation. Hereupon the Vicar-General issues a citation in the Archbishop's name, summoning all the opposers of the election to make their appearance at a certain time and place, then and there to offer their objections, if they have any. This usually takes place by means of three separate proclamations at Bow Church, London, and is done by an officer of the Court of Arches, who affixes the citation to that church door, and an authentic certificate thereof is by that officer returned to the Archbishop and Vicar-General. At the time and place aforesaid, the Proctor for the Dean and Chapter exhibits the Royal

Charta, granted that they should be eligible : after which came in the *Congé d'eslire* ; so that the patronage of all bishoprics is in the King, he giving leave to the Chapters to choose them. *Vide Ayliffe's Parergon Juris*, 126. The bishoprics in Ireland are, as the English bishoprics were from the Conquest, donative to the present day. *Vide Stat. 2 Eliz. cap. iv. (Hibern.)* This fact, apparently not being known to him, has caused a writer in the *Union Review* for July, 1869, p. 368, to maintain, by a very rash conclusion from a somewhat mistaken premiss, that the Irish Bishops "have no spiritual authority."

* When the election has taken place, and is certified under the hand of the Dean, and by the capitular seal of the Chapter, the person elected is reported and called Bishop-elect. He would so sign himself. But he is not thereby complete Bishop, to all intents and purposes, for as yet he has not *potestatem jurisdictionis neque ordinis*, nor can he have the same until his confirmation and consecration.

assent and the Commission of the Archbishop to the Vicar-General, who, after the reading thereof, accepts the same. Then the Proctor exhibits the proxy from the Dean and Chapter, presents the Bishop-elect, returns the citation, and asks that the opposers may be thrice publicly called; which done, and their contumacy accused, he desires that *in pœnam contumaciæ* the business in hand may proceed, which is ordered by the Vicar-General in a schedule by him read and subscribed. Then the Proctor gives in a necessary petition, therein deducing the whole process of election and consent, and asks that a time may be assigned to him to prove it, which the Vicar-General admits and decrees. After this the Proctor again exhibits the Royal Assent, with the elected Bishop's consent, and the aforesaid certificate to the Archbishop, desiring a time to be presently assigned for final sentence, which the Vicar-General also decrees. Then the Proctor desires that all opponents may again be called three times, which done, and none appearing nor opposing, they are pronounced contumacious, and a decree is made to proceed to sentence by a schedule read and prescribed by the Vicar-General. Upon this the Bishop takes the Oaths of Supremacy, simony, and of obedience to the Archbishop, in accordance with the Canons of the Church. After this the Dean of the Arches reads and subscribes the sentence, and so this step is completed.

Next after the Confirmation, follows the Consecration of the elected Bishop, in obedience to the King's formal mandate, which is solemnly and publicly done in the face of the Church by the Archbishop, with the assistance of at least two other Bishops of the

Church of England, and in conformity to the manner and form of consecrating Bishops prescribed by the Canon relating to the same, enacted in the Fourth Council of Carthage, generally received throughout the whole Western Church.

A mandate then issues from the Archbishop to the Archdeacon of his province to install the Bishop-elect, confirmed and now consecrated, who himself (or his proxy, which is customary and usual, being in the person of a Notary Public) introduced by the Archdeacon into the cathedral church, on any day between the hours of nine and eleven, first declares his assent to the King's supremacy, etc. Then the Archdeacon, with the Canons and other officials, having preceded the Bishop to the choir, and placed him on the Episcopal throne, pronounces as follows:—"Ego auctoritate mihi commissa induco et inthronizo Reverendum in Christo patrem, Dominum N. Episcopum. Et Dominus Deus Omnipotens custodiat tuum introitum et exitum, ex hoc nunc et in sæculum. Amen." Then, after the service proper for the occasion, the Bishop being conducted into the chapter-house, and there placed in a chief seat, the Archdeacon, Canons, Prebendaries, Minor Canons, and other officers of the Church acknowledge canonical obedience to him; and the Notary Public, by the Archdeacon's commands, records the whole matter in an instrument to remain as authentic to posterity.

After which the Bishop is introduced into the presence of the King to do homage for his temporalities* and barony, by kneeling down and putting

* In some cases the temporalities of a See have been *ex gratiâ* granted before consecration, and it seems probable that in the case of Parker,

his hands between the hands of the King, who is sitting in his chair of state, and by taking a solemn oath to be true and faithful to his majesty and that he holds his temporalities from him.

All these various steps are taken duly, regularly, in accordance both with law and custom, by the co-operation of numerous public officials both in Church and State, and in the face of the people. So that the idea of a person occupying the position of a Bishop in the Church of England without having gone through them, may be regarded as in the highest degree improbable, if not actually impossible.

But to proceed to the facts of the cases in dispute :—

As Barlow, was the chief consecrator of Parker ;

Evidence of
Barlow's Con-
secration.

as he was the Bishop to whom the Arch-
bishop-elect was presented by John Scory,

Suffragan of Bedford, and Bishop Miles Coverdale, it is essential, in the first instance, to prove that the said Barlow had himself been duly consecrated, and was held and regarded to be a Bishop by his fellow Prelates in previous reigns. This is all the more necessary because the actual record of his consecration is not to be found in Cranmer's Register, and the Registers for that period of St. Asaph and St. David's are lost.

The reasons why Barlow may be held to have been a true Bishop shall be set forth *seriatim* :—

1. He had been actually possessed of three Sees in turn, viz.—St. Asaph, St. David's, and Bath and Wells, prior to the date of Parker's consecration.

permission to occupy the Palace at Lambeth was given even before election. *Vide* Stephens, *On the Laws of the Clergy*, Vol. I. p. 145. London : 1848.

On the death of Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, which took place on July 9th, 1535, William Barlow, then Prior of Bisham, was elected Bishop of the vacant See. The *Congé d'eslire*, dated January 7th, 1535-36, is given in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. xiv. p. 558. He was confirmed by proxy either on Feb. 22nd, or on Feb. 23rd—the Archbishop's commission to confirm Barlow being dated Feb. 22nd, and the Royal assent being of the same date. It is given in Rymer. (*Ibid.* p. 559.) But there is no record of his consecration.

2. On the death of Richard Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, Feb. 18th, 1535-6 (*Certif. super elect. Barlow*, in Cranmer's Register), he was, as "*Episcopus Assav:*" in his own documents, and as "*Episc Assav: elect.*" in those of his successor,—elected to the See of St. David's on April 10th, 1536 (Regist. Cranmer.) He was confirmed in person, not by proxy, in Bow Church on April 21st, 1536, in accordance with the Royal assent, given and granted on April 20th; and, furthermore, obtained possession of his temporalities on April 25th. The writ for the latter is given (as taken from the "Rolls Chapel in Chancery,") in Mason's *Vindication*, Book iii. chap x. sec. 4, p. 313. But again there is no record of his consecration.

3. That on Feb. 3rd, 1547-8, he was collated, according to 1 Edward VI. cap. ii. to the See of Bath and Wells. The Writ is given in Rymer, Vol. xv. pp. 169, 170, after which he did homage. Mason, who gives no date for this, mentions the fact, (on the authority of the document in the Rolls Chapel,) in his *Vindication*, Book iii. chap. x. sec. 3, p. 312.

4. That in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, he resigned his See, probably through fear of deprivation, the spiritualities being taken possession of by the Chapter of Canterbury between Dec. 20th, 1553, and March 25th, 1554. The *Congé d'eslire* for his successor Gilbert Bourne, S.T.B., issued on March 13th of the same year, is given in Rymer, Vol. xv. p. 369, in which it is stated that the See is vacant "per liberam et spontaneam resignationem ultimi Episcopi," and Barlow's name is mentioned as the last Bishop.

5. That he was summoned to Parliament by Writ of Summons, dated April 27th, 1536, given by Rymer, Vol. xiv. p. 546. That he was admitted to and installed in his place in the House of Lords, on June 30th, 1536, and was present as Bishop of St. David's, and Bath and Wells successively in every Parliament, with scarcely a day's interval, until the accession of Queen Mary. In the Journals of the House of Lords he is correctly described as "Will'mus Menev," or "W. Menev:" and on one occasion when he appeared as proxy for John Bird, Bishop of Chester, as "W. Meneven." Here he must have continually sat side by side with Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstall, Heath and Thirlby—all earnest opponents of certain principles which he openly advocated, any of whom would have been acquainted with the notorious fact, that until he had been solemnly consecrated he was not a Bishop in the eye of the law, and consequently was not a spiritual peer.

6. That he was present also in the Convocations of 1536, 1537, and 1540, as Bishop of St. David's, signing himself "Willielmus Meneven," and in the

Convocation of 1552, as Bishop of Bath and Wells, being one of the Commissioners appointed to draw up the Articles and Canons made and set forth in that year. In the Synod of 1536, likewise, he put his name as Bishop of St. David's to the "Declaration concerning General Councils," (*Vide* MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Wilkins' *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 809.)

In the year 1542, on Feb. 19th, at the consecration of Arthur Bulkeley, Bishop of Bangor, which took place, not as usual at Lambeth, but in the Chapel of the Dean of St. Paul's, John Capon, [or Salcot] Bishop of Salisbury, was the consecrating Prelate; and William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, and John Wakeman, Bishop of Gloucester, were the assistant consecrating Prelates. It is impossible to conceive that either the consecrator, the other assistant, or the person consecrated would have obtained the co-operation of Barlow, or have consented thus publicly to act with him unless it were known to them that he had himself been duly consecrated.*

Certain of the above facts may be briefly recapitulated thus:—

William Barlow was elected

Bishop of St. Asaph, by authority of a *Congé d'eslire*,
dated

Jan. 7th, 1535-36.

He was confirmed, by proxy,
being absent in Scotland,
on the authority of Archbishop Cranmer's commission to confirm his election, dated

Feb. 22nd, ..

* Barlow had previously assisted at the consecration of John Skip in 1539.

At the death of Rawlins,
 Bishop of St. David's, on
 Feb. 18, 1536, Barlow, then
 at Edinburgh, was elected
 Bishop of St. David's, on . April 10th, 1535-36.

The Royal assent to that elec-
 tion was granted . . . April 20th, ,,

He had returned from Scot-
 land, for he was confirmed
 in person at Bow Church, on April 21st, ,,

HE MUST HAVE BEEN CONSE-
 CRATED BETWEEN APRIL 21ST
 AND APRIL 25TH, 1536,

For he obtained possession of
 the temporalities on . . . April 25th, ,,

And was summoned to Parlia-
 ment by Writ, dated . . . April 27th, ,,

Barlow went to Edinburgh,
 arriving there some time
 between April 27th and
 May 12th, from which place
 he wrote letters, still exist-
 ing, dated between that
 period, (*Vide State Papers*
relating to the time of Henry
VIII., Part IV., Numbers
 268, 271, et seq.) in which
 he signs himself "Will'mus
 Menev :"

But came back again in time
 to be admitted to his seat in
 the House of Lords on . June 30th, ,,

There are other reasons why an inevitable con-
 clusion may be drawn from the above and similar

facts that Barlow had received Episcopal Consecration :—

(*a*) The Letters Patent authorizing his former confirmation, likewise commanded the Archbishop [Cranmer] either to consecrate him himself or to commission other Bishops to do so. By not consecrating him or ensuring his consecration by others within twenty days from the receipt of the Letters Patent, the gravest temporal losses would have ensued to the Archbishop.*

(*β*) No person can either be, or could be acknowledged to be, a Bishop in England, unless he has been consecrated by at least three Bishops,† either by, or with the consent of, the Metropolitan. This law is a reproduction and embodiment of the second, third and fourth canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398. But Barlow was unquestionably admitted to have been a Bishop by the whole Church of England. Bishop Gardiner, of Winchester, publicly acknowledged him as such.‡ State Authorities likewise owned him for a due and legally-made Bishop.

(*γ*) He was summoned both to Parliament and to the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury as a consecrated Bishop. For no man can take his seat in the House of Lords as a Spiritual Peer, or in the Upper House of Convocation as a Member, until he has been consecrated.

(*δ*) Furthermore. It has been argued that Barlow

* See Appendix No. II., 25 Henry VIII., cap. xx. s. 5.

† Sanders *De Schism. Angl.* lib. iii., p. 296, allows that Henry VIII. re-enacted that a Bishop should be consecrated by three bishops with the consent of the Metropolitan, and that none should be esteemed a Bishop who was consecrated otherwise; and furthermore that this law was in perfect accordance with the Canons of the Ancient Church.

‡ Vide Chap. VI., p. 49 of this treatise.

might not have been consecrated, because he at one time did not hold the need of consecration. On the other hand, the very words in disparagement of consecration, reputed to have been used by him, clearly and unquestionably involve the absolute certainty of his own consecration. They are as follows:—"That if the King's Grace, being Supreme Head of the Church, did denominate any layman to be a Bishop, that layman would be as good a Bishop as himself or the best in England." Now, no person reading this erroneous and Erastian sentiment, could fail to perceive that the words contain obvious proof that Barlow asserted that he himself was a consecrated Bishop. For had Barlow been only denominated by the King to be a Bishop, it would have been an identical proposition to have said that another man made in the same way would have been as good a Bishop as he was. It would have amounted to the palpable absurdity of "None but himself could be his parallel."

Granting, however, that at one period of his life he held inadequate and loose opinions regarding ordination, it is clear that had he not duly received episcopal consecration, the temporalities of his See could never have been legally taken possession of by him. And even supposing that he altogether denied the value of episcopal consecration—which for the sake of argument we will assume to have been the case—he surely would not have refused to undergo consecration, for otherwise he would never have had a right either to the position, place, or privileges he possessed, or to the official powers he duly exercised.

(ε) Still further. Had Barlow been unconsecrated,

the legal secular acts he was from time to time called upon to perform as Bishop of St. David's, and afterwards as Bishop of Bath and Wells*—which latter he held until Queen Mary's accession,—would have been absolutely null and void. That the leases granted by him as Bishop of St. David's, were carefully examined, is shown by the fact that two of them were questioned, but *only on the ground that they had been signed by him at Wells after he had been "clearly discharged of the See of St. David's,"* not on account of his want of legal power to grant them. In other words, his opponents did not question the perfect validity of his legal acts, because they could not question, and never dreamt of questioning, his consecration.

(5) There are certain records in existence already referred to, or others,—(1) The Commission, dated 3 Feb., (in 2 Edw. VI.,) 1548, for the translation of William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, in which he is styled several times "*Will. Menev. Episc.*" (2) The Commission for the consecration of Robert Ferrar to be Bishop of St. David's, "*per translationem Willielmi*" Barlow, dated July 31, 1548. (3) The Commission for restoration of the temporalities of the said Bishopric to Robert Ferrar, as being void "*per*

* In the year 1550, Barlow was involved in a long dispute with Goodman, Dean of his Cathedral Church of Wells, whom he deprived (as was asserted, without sufficient reasons, and, therefore, illegally); but none of the lawyers who were opposed to him in the suits arising from the dispute ever hinted at any flaw in his consecration. On the contrary, he is termed by them "William, Lorde Byshop of Bathe and Wells," and his episcopal character is frequently referred to and recognised. Had he not been consecrated, all his proceedings in this case would have been likewise null and void.

translationem Willielmi" Barlow, dated Aug. 1, 1548. These all prove that Barlow was, and was reputed to be, a Bishop, and, furthermore, that he was known to be such by the various public officials who drew the deeds referred to and made them valid instruments.

(7) Bishop Barlow, as is notorious, took a leading part in the various perplexing disputes of the reign of King Henry VIII., his son, Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, yet neither the party which so earnestly and self-sacrificingly adhered to the old state of things, nor the extreme fanatics who had carried the Protestant re-action to such a considerable length, accused Barlow of not being a Bishop. It is simply inconceivable that had he not been duly and regularly consecrated, such an accusation from one side or the other, for he had many enemies on both, would not have been made.

(8) It has been moreover asserted that both Cranmer and Barlow may have privately made arrangements for the latter to take possession of the See of St. David's, on the strength of the King's nomination and without any consecration. But such an idea is preposterous and impossible, for the following reasons:—(1) Cranmer himself was certainly consecrated, and in regard to each of his Suffragans, was most careful that they should duly and regularly receive consecration, as was the case with John Hooper, of Gloucester, made a Bishop, March 8, 1551, he protesting, nevertheless, against certain rites used, and also against having to take the oath of Supremacy. (2) No actual proof has ever been adduced to show that Cranmer disobeyed any mandate issued to him for consecrating others, or that he was likely to have done so. (3) The

sentiments set forth in the formal documents drawn up under Cranmer's direction,* *e.g.* "The Articles about Religion, etc., issued in 1536,† "The Institution of a Christian man, in 1537," and "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man," later on, all suffice to show that the sentiments of all those rulers of the Church who assented to the public issue of these formal publications by their signatures, were not at variance with true doctrine regarding Holy Orders.

(i) It should be further remembered that the Register of Cranmer is a collection of various parchment documents, different in kind, size, and character, bound together at a later period than the death of the Archbishop, and in several respects imperfect. In order and regularity it is the very antithesis of Parker's. Out of the record of eleven translations

* Vide Appendix No. I. for a long extract on the Doctrine of the Sacrament of Orders.

† These "Articles" which were first printed in 1536, are very rare. There is an original MS. copy in the Cottonian Collection, of which use was made by Bishop Burnet for the *Addenda* to his *History of the Reformation*. A printed copy of Berthelet's First Edition is amongst the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian. They are reprinted in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 122. Both Cranmer and Barlow signed them in Convocation, and Barlow's name occurs in the following order :—

A.D. 1536.

"Nicholaus Sarisburiens. Edwardus Hereforden. [Fox.] Willielmus Norwicencis [Rugg or Repps.] Willielmus Meneven. [Barlow.] Robertus Assaphen. [Wharton or Parfew]."

In the Address of the Archbishops and Bishops of the two Provinces to the King, Barlow's name stands thus :—

"Joannes Roffen. [Hilsey.] Ricardus Cicestren. [Sampson.] Guilielmus Norwicen. [Rugg or Repps.] Guilielmus Meneven. [Barlow.] Robertus Assaven. [Wharton or Parfew.]

This Robert Wharton was consecrated at Lambeth, July 2, 1636, by Cranmer, assisted by the Bishops of Bangor and Norwich. It is clear, therefore, that Barlow was consecrated before him, because of the precedence taken by Barlow in both the documents referred to.

in Cranmer's Register, five are wanting. Of forty-five consecrations at which Cranmer presided, the records of no less than nine are not to be found. Of these nine which are wanting,* there is no reference whatsoever of any kind to three. Five of them—of which Barlow's is one—have the records preserved up to the act of confirmation, but omit the record of consecration. In two of the cases which are exactly parallel to Barlow's, *i.e.* in two of those instances in which the documents exist up to the record of confirmation, the account of the consecration is preserved in the Diocesan Register.† The Register of St. David's, for the year 1536, however, is lost.

It may be mentioned as deserving of notice with regard to the non-existence or loss of Episcopal Registers, or of certain instruments usually found in them, that out of twenty-six consecrations effected during the Primacy of Archbishop Warham, the records of six are not to be found. In Cardinal Pole's Register, two are lost. Moreover, of the seven who took part in the consecration of Cardinal Pole himself on the 22nd of March, 1556, three Bishops were in this position, and Bonner, one of the other assistants, had been consecrated by Gardiner whose record is not to be found at Lambeth.

* The records of the consecrations of Gardiner, Repps, [or Rugg,] Pates, White, Griffin, Hopton, Bayne, Turberville, and Goldwell, are wanting.

† In Lord Calthorpe's Library there is a MSS. collection of documents drawn up by Thomas Argall, a well-known Notary Public of the period, some of which evidently belong to the time of Warham and Cranmer, and which were very probably prepared for insertion in the Registers of those prelates. It is possible, therefore, that the record of Barlow's consecration may still exist, though it has not yet been discovered.

From the historical facts already given, and for the reasons just advanced, there can be no doubt whatsoever that ordinary judges of evidence would at once allow the existence of a moral certainty that William Barlow was duly consecrated a Bishop. As with the case of hundreds of other Bishops, it cannot be demonstrated with mathematical certainty.* It is of course impossible to determine with exactness the date of his consecration, as the record of it is not forthcoming. The author of this treatise, however, after due and careful consideration, would fix it as having most probably taken place on Low Sunday, (St. George's Day,) April 23rd, 1536 †—a date which harmonizes completely with those historical facts already recorded.

* A case in some respects parallel, having reference not to Orders but to Baptism, occurred with regard to that most distinguished German theologian, Dr. Döllinger. The following paragraph which appeared in the English newspapers, transcribed from the German, is reprinted entire:—

“DR. DÖLLINGER'S BAPTISM.—A curious incident occurred the other day in the Upper House at Munich. The celebrated Catholic historian and High Church dignitary, Dr. von Döllinger, having been made a senator by the King, was introduced into the Chamber and took the usual oaths, but on being required to produce some evidence of his baptism it appeared he had no baptismal certificate. He knew when he was born, but when or where he had been christened he was utterly unable to say. This caused no little amusement in the House, but as it was taken for granted that so eminent a member of the Catholic hierarchy must have been baptized, he was allowed to take his seat without further difficulty.”

† In the year 1536, Easter Day fell on the 16th of April, and Low Sunday on the 23rd. Barlow, as we have seen, was appointed to St. David's, on Monday, April 10th, 1536, confirmed *in person*, on Friday, April 21st; consecrated in all probability on Sunday, April 23rd, and was summoned to Parliament, as we know by the terms of the Writ, on Thursday, April 27th.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONSECRATIONS OF HODGKINS, SCORY, AND COVERDALE.

THE validity of the Episcopal consecration of Archbishop Parker does not rest solely on the validity of his consecrator's consecration: because, as can be seen from the following extract taken out of the Lambeth Register, as well as from the record of his consecration preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,* Bishops Hodgkins, Scory, and Coverdale, co-operated† in that act.

The Lambeth Register, as regards the particular portion concerned, stands as follows. An English version is placed side by side with it:—

<p>“Quibus finitis post Questiones aliquot Ar- chie'po per Cicestren. electum propositas, et post Orationes et Suffra- gia quedam juxta formam libri auc'te parlamenti editi apud Deum habita, Cicestren. Hereforden. Suffraganeus Bedforden. et Milo Coverdallus Mani- bus Archie'po impositis</p>	<p>Which things being finished, after certain questions addressed to the Archbishop by the elect of Chichester, and after prayers and certain suffrages addressed to God according to the form of a Book put forth by the authority of Par- liament [the Bishops] of Chichester and Hereford,</p>
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* Vide Appendix No. X.

† “Omnes qui adsunt episcopi non tantum testes sed etiam co-operatores esse citra omnem dubitationis aleam asserendum est.” Martene *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, Lib. I. Part vi. cviii. Art. 10, Sec. 16.

dixerunt Anglice, viz.:— the Suffragan of Bedford
Take the Hollie Gost, and Miles Coverdale,
and remember that thou placing their hands on the
stir upp the Grace of God Archbishop said in Eng-
which ys in the by Im- lish as follows :—Take
posicon of handes for the Hollie Gost, etc.”
God hath not given us
the Spirit of feare, but of
Power and Love and So-
bernes.”

This being the case, it is now desirable and necessary to show that Hodgkins, Scory, and Coverdale had previously received valid episcopal consecration.

1. *The Case of John Hodgkins.* About four years and a half after Cranmer had become Primate of all England, *i.e.* on Dec. 9th, 1537, John Stokesley, Bishop of London, as consecrator, with John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, and Robert Wharton, Bishop of St. Asaph, as assistants, consecrated Richard Ingworth, Suffragan Bishop of Dover, and John Hodgkins, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, at St. Paul's Cathedral. This act was performed in accordance with the rites of the ancient *Salisbury Pontifical*, ten years before any Revised Ordinal had been set forth, and this consecration is duly and regularly recorded in Cranmer's Register.* The said John Hodgkins, Bishop of Bedford, Suffragan to the Bishop of London, assisted in the consecration of the following Prelates, as may be seen from the same authorities :—

* Vide Appendix No. X.

1. Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, consecrated on Dec. 19th, 1540, in King Henry VIIth's Chapel, the consecrator being Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London ; with Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Rochester and John Hodgkins, Bishop of Bedford, for assistants.
2. William Knight, Bishop of Bath, consecrated on May 29th, 1541, at the Bishop of Bath's Chapel, in the Minories ; the consecrator being Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Rochester ; with Richard Ingworth, Bishop of Dover and John Hodgkins, Bishop of Bedford, as assistants.
3. Paul Bush, Bishop of Bristol, consecrated on June 25th, 1542, at Hampton ; the consecrator being Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Rochester ; Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster and John Hodgkins, Bishop of Bedford, being assistants.
- 4, 5, 6, 7. Hodgkins, also acted as an assistant at the consecration of (4) Henry Man, Bishop of Sodor and Man, on Feb. 14th, 1546, at S. Paul's : at the consecration of (5) Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, on Sept. 25th, 1547, at S. Paul's ; and at the consecration of (6) Coverdale, and (7) Scory, on August 30th, 1551, at Croydon.

There can be no question whatsoever, therefore, that the said John Hodgkins was regarded as a validly-consecrated Bishop by all his contemporaries, and that the fact of his consecration cannot be reasonably disputed.

2 and 3. *The Cases of John Scory and Miles Coverdale.* The consecrations of these two Bishops are taken together, because there can be little doubt that they were both consecrated at the same time and place, by the same consecrator and assistants. It is quite true that in Cranmer's Register, there is a mistake

in the place of consecration, but this mistake can be quite reasonably explained.

As regards facts, it is certain that amongst the last five consecrations recorded in Cranmer's Register* are those of Scory and Coverdale, the Bishops in question. There is a precise and regular record of the proceedings in each. Scory was consecrated by Archbishop Cranmer; Ridley, Bishop of London; and John, Bishop of Bedford, "in oratorio sive Capella manerij sui de Croydon, eccl'ie Xpi: Cantuarien: jurisdictionis immediate." The witnesses present were Antony Huse, Peter Lylly, Edward Bygge, and John Incent, Notaries Public. The vestments of those ecclesiastics taking part in the service are carefully and regularly described. The text of the sermon preached is given, (Titus i.) and the date of the act of consecration is August 30th, 1551.

With reference to Coverdale,† the record of whose consecration stands next in order in Cranmer's Register, the words of that record are almost completely identical with the record of Scory's consecration, except in some unimportant particulars. The consecrating Bishop is the same, and the assistant Bishops are the same. The Notaries Public present are the same, except that John Incent's name is omitted in the case of Coverdale. The sermon is said to have been preached from the same text. The date of

* Vide Appendix No. XI.

† In a letter, MS. 959, No. 58, in the Lambeth library, Coverdale styles himself, "quondam episcopus." He superscribes it:—"To the Right Worshipful and godly friend, Mr. [Qy. secretarie] to my Lord of Canterbury his Grace." "I commend you and all yo^{rs} to y^e gracious p'tection of God, y^e 25 Martii, 1566. Your owne in y^e Lorde, Miles Coverdale, quondam episc."

the consecration is the same, *but the place is different*. Coverdale is said to have been consecrated “in oratorio sive Capellâ manerij sui de Lambeththe Winton. dioces.”

Now it is extremely unlikely, almost impossible, that two consecrations by the same consecrators could have taken place on the same day at two distinct places, one fifteen miles from the other. It may be at once concluded, therefore, that the Registrar, Notary Public, or other official who drew up the record of the two consecrations, made a mistake as to the place, and, in Coverdale's case, set down Lambeth when he ought to have set down Croydon.

This may easily have occurred. For on a careful inspection of the Register, it will be found that the respective entries recording the consecrations of Poynet, Hooper, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, and Harley, (A.S. 1550—53) are, *mutatis mutandis*, substantially the same, and the mere mistake of the name of a place may easily have been made. In each case there are regular entries of the consecration, and of the Royal mandate for consecration. Poynet, and the five who follow in the above list, were nominated by the King in accordance with the express enactments of the then new statute, 1 Edward VI. c. 2, which abolished the whole of the ancient forms of election to a vacant Bishopric by the Dean and Chapter, and substituted a simple collation by Letters Patent.* So important a change necessitated a corresponding change in the form of entering the records in the Register. And this, on examination, as was to have been expected, we find to have taken place. Instead

* This novel enactment was very properly repealed and abolished by the 1 Mary sess. 2, sec. 2.

of the old entries being followed, those of the Bishops enumerated above, differ materially from all the preceding entries, though they agree substantially, and to all intents and purposes one with another. Those recording the consecration of Poynt and Hooper, are expressly followed in the case of Scory and Coverdale. It may be reasonably inferred, therefore, that the Registrar, accustomed to the older forms, finding himself called upon to enter the record of two new consecrations, while following the new type of form before him, copied likewise the place mentioned in the preceding record, [Lambeth] which, by the way, had been for some time the usual place where the episcopal character had been conferred, and so made a mistake.

It should be added, in reference to the two consecrations under consideration, (1) that the formal documents as entered in Cranmer's Register agree in every particular both as to date and substance with the corresponding documents in the Rolls' Office; and furthermore, (2) that the actual piece of parchment on which the Records in question are set forth in Cranmer's Register, contains records of other consecrations, some before in order, and some after, in order, those of Scory* and Coverdale,—from which latter fact the conclusion is drawn that they were entered regularly in their proper order, and at the time when the solemn official act which they describe was publicly done.

* On the 14th of July, 1554 (*temp.* Q. Mary), Scory, who had been consecrated by Cranmer with the Revised Ordinal, having been deposed from his episcopal office, was solemnly restored to the exercise of the same by Bonner *without any re-consecration*. The Act of Restoration is given in the Appendix.—*Vide* Appendix XI.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

IN a previous chapter, the various details which I refer to the appointment of Parker to the primacy of all England are briefly recorded. A short reference to various original documents relating to that appointment will be now made, and then the actual fact of his consecration will be carefully considered in detail. After which, certain independent evidence bearing on the same will be duly set forth.

In the library of Lambeth Palace, preserved in one of the rare original copies of the Latin treatise by John Jocleyn, or by Parker himself, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*,* are several original MS. letters

* This copy, labelled MS. 959, which is filled with MS. side notes, annotations, explanations, fresh facts, the results of antiquarian researches, and genealogical memoranda, is believed to have belonged to John Parker, son of the Archbishop. Most of the MS. additions are certainly in his handwriting. There are likewise interleaved in the book a large number of original letters, deeds, and other documents relating to the See of Canterbury; amongst which, one numbered 58, contains a contemporary testimony to the fact of Archbishop Parker's consecration, detailing all the well-known acts with accuracy and care. Furthermore, Parker's son has written the following regarding his father's personal history in this interesting volume:—"Iste Matthe^s nat^s fuit 6 Augusti, 1604 [an obvious mistake for 1504]. Consecratur Archiep^s 17 Decemb. 1559. Ultima Volu'tas facta 5 Aprilis, 1575. Moritur Lambeti (q^o sepelit^r), 17 Maij 1575. Funeralia i. Lamh: Eccl'ia. Testament: probatio pⁱ. ex: 1^o Oct. 1575." As regards this rare volume it was first printed at Lambeth by John Daye, in 1572, and so small a number was then published that, as Dr. Ducarel remarked, "except this complete copy, there is but one extant in England known to be so." Dr. Ducarel's statement,

which relate to this appointment. First there is one from Sir Nicholas Bacon to Dr. Parker, in Bacon's own handwriting, dated Dec. 9, 1558, desiring him to come up to him at "Burgeny House, in Pater Noster Row," for matters concerning himself, and directing Parker that if he, Sir Nicholas Bacon, were gone out of town, then he should repair to Sir William Cecil, Secretary. The letter is addressed thus:—"To the Ryghte Worshipfull, my vearye frynde, Mr. Doctor Parkyere, theise in haste." *

There are also other MS. letters, as follows:—

1. A letter from Sir W. Cecil to Dr. Parker, signifying the Queen's intention that he should immediately repair to London, dated from Westminster, the 30th of December, 1558, and signed, "Your loving frende W. Cecill."
2. A letter from Parker, who was at Cambridge, to Bacon, declining to come to London, desiring an University life above all, and Benet's College there. Dated Dec. 30th [no year].
3. A letter from Sir Nicholas Bacon to Parker, dated the 4th of Jan., 1559, requiring him to come up immediately to London.
4. A long letter, in Parker's own handwriting, to Q. Elizabeth, declining the Archbishopric, and describing what sort of man the Queen should make choice of for the place. Signed, "Your assured Orator, M. P." Dated 1st March

however, is at the present time not quite accurate. A new edition, translated from the Latin, was printed in folio at Hanau in 1605, and since that period another copy by Dr. Drake, printed by William Bowyer, was published in 1729. Dr. Drake had consulted twenty-one copies of the original Latin edition, but most of them were defective, and in some, the "Life of Mathew Parker" did not appear. It should be added here that several interesting MSS. of Archbishop Parker's are preserved in the library of C. C. C., Cambridge.

* This letter is dated 1559, instead of 1558, in the printed Catalogue of the MSS., by the Rev. H. J. Todd.

[no year]. 5, A letter from Lord Bacon to summon Parker to Court. Dated May 17, 1559. 6. A letter from Bacon and Cecil, signifying the Queen's pleasure that he should repair up to London with such speed as conveniently he might. Signed, "Your lovyng fryndes, Bacon and W. Cecill," and dated May 19th [no year]. It is addressed, "To the Ryghte Worshipfull and our vearye ffrynde, Mr. Doctor Parker, geve theise with speade."

The above facts are put on record here for three reasons: (1) First, to show that the selection of Parker for the vacant primacy was most reasonable, considering his previous position and known abilities; (2) secondly, that he was on intimate terms both with Bacon and Cecil, well acquainted with the state of religious parties and with the needs of the Church, and that he was known personally to the Queen; and (3) thirdly, to show that the facts as recorded harmonize completely with the general course of events in reference to the episcopal appointments at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and are in perfect accordance with the dates of the various civil documents existing relating to it.

The record of the consecration in Parker's Register is in Latin. The following is an English translation. The original is given in Appendix XII, :—

"The Order of the Rites and Ceremonies which were observed at the consecration of the Most Reverend Lord, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the chapel within his Manor of Lambeth, on Sunday, the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord, One thousand five hundred and fifty-nine.

"In the first place, the east end of the chapel was

adorned with tapestry, and the floor was covered with crimson cloth. Likewise a Table, necessary for the performance of Divine service, adorned with frontal and a cushion, stood at the east end. Besides which, four seats for the four bishops, to whom was assigned the office of consecrating the archbishop, were placed towards the south of the chapel sanctuary. Also a faldstool, covered with carpet and cushions, on which the bishops when they knelt might rest, was placed before their seats. In like manner, also, a throne and a faldstool, adorned with hangings and cushion, were placed for the archbishop at the north side of the sanctuary of the same chapel.

“ These things being thus arranged in their order, in the morning about five or six o’clock,* the archbishop enters the chapel by the west door, vested in a scarlet cassock and hood, preceded by four torches, and accompanied by the four bishops who were to officiate at his consecration, viz., William Barloe, sometime Bishop of Bath and Wells, now elect of Chichester; John Scory, sometime Bishop of Chichester, now elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, sometime Bishop of Exeter; and John, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford. After all of these had taken the seats prepared for them, each one in his order, Morning Prayers were immediately said in a clear voice by Andrew Peerson, the archbishop’s Chaplain, at the end of which, John Scory, of whom we have spoken above, ascended the pulpit, and taking for his text, ‘ The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder,’ preached not inelegantly.

“ The sermon ended, the archbishop and the four

* *Vide* foot-note (*) p. 150.

Bishops leave the chapel, to prepare themselves for Holy Communion. Then, without delay, immediately they return by the north door, apparelled in this manner: the Archbishop was vested in a lawn surplice, as it is called; the Elect of Chichester wore a silk cope, being prepared to perform the service, upon whom did minister and assist two chaplains of the archbishop, viz., Nicholas Bullingham and Edmund Gest, archdeacons of Lincoln and Canterbury respectively, likewise vested in silk copes. The Elect of Hereford and the Suffragan of Bedford were vested in lawn surplices.

“But Miles Coverdale used only a long woollen cassock.

“And being thus vested and arranged, they proceeded to celebrate the Communion, the archbishop reverently kneeling at the lowest step of the sanctuary.

“The Gospel at length finished, the Elect of Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale, (of whom above,) conducted the archbishop to the Elect of Chichester, who was seated in a chair before the Table, with these words: ‘Reverend Father in God, we offer and present to you this pious and learned man, that he may be consecrated archbishop.’ After they had said this, the royal diploma or mandate for the consecration of the archbishop was at once produced, which being read by Thomas Yale, Doctor of Laws, the oath of the royal supremacy, or of defending her supreme authority, according to the statutes enacted and promulgated in the first year of the reign of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, was required of the said archbishop; which, when he had in a form of words

solemnly taken, touching corporally the Holy Gospels, the Elect of Chichester, exhorting the people to prayer, made preparation to chant the Litany, the choir responding. These things finished, after some questions addressed to the Archbishop by the Elect of Chichester, and after prayers and certain suffrages addressed to God, according to the form of a Book put forth by the authority of Parliament; the (Elect) of Chichester and Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale, placing their hands on the Archbishop said, in English, thus:— ‘Take the Hollie Gost, and remember that thou stir upp the Grace of God which ys in the by Imposicon of handes, for God hath not giuen us the Spirite of feare, But of Power, and Love, and Sobernes.’ This being said, they placed the Holy Bible in his hands, addressing him in words like these: ‘Gyve hede unto thy readinge, exhortacon. and Doctrine; thinke uppon thes thinges, conteyned in thys Booke, be diligent in them that the increase comminge therbye may be manifest unto all men; Take hede unto thy self, and unto thy Teachinge, and be diligent in Doinge them, for by doinge thys thou shalt saue thy self and them that hear thee, through Jesus Xpe. our Lord.’ After they had said these things, he of Chichester proceeds with the concluding part of the Communion Service, without delivering any pastoral staff to the archbishop; with whom the archbishop, and the four bishops above named, with some others, received Holy Communion.

“The service being finished and completed, the archbishop retires by the north door of the east part of the chapel, accompanied by the four bishops who

had consecrated him ; and immediately, supported by the same bishops, he returns by the same door, arrayed in a white rochet and chimere (as they call it) made of black silk ; while round his neck he wore a certain collar made of precious sabelline furs (commonly called ‘sables’). In like manner he of Chichester and he of Hereford were each of them clad in their episcopal vestments, a rochet and chimere. But Coverdale and the Suffragan of Bedford wore only cassocks. Then the archbishop, going towards the west door, delivered to Thomas Doyle, the steward, to John Baker, the treasurer, and to John March, the comptroller, to each a white wand, in this manner giving them the insignia of their several charges and offices.

“These things being in this manner, and in their due order, completed (as was before said), the archbishop goes out of the chapel by the west door, the gentle* people of his family, related by blood, preceding him, the rest following him behind.

* “Parentibus liberis, civibus Norvicensibus, Gulielmo patre, Aloissia matre.”—Life of Parker, *De Antiq. Brit. Eccles.*. The grandmother of Matthew Parker (as may be seen from *Original Pedigrees*, A. 211—12, at the College of Arms), was Alicia, daughter of John Carey, gentleman, of Snettisham, Co. Norfolk, and Parker’s uncle had apparently married another member of the same family. The Careys of Snettisham and the Careys, Lords Hunsdon, were originally from the same trunk. Now, Katherine, the daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (*temp.*, Q. Elizabeth), was the first wife of Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham, which nobleman, born in 1536, was present when he was twenty-three years of age at the consecration of Parker, and though a Roman Catholic afterwards, testified to that fact in his place in Parliament. The following extract from a certain Mr. Canon John Williams’ *Letters on Anglican Orders* (London, 1867), is at once a specimen of that person’s accuracy and arguments :—

“Mason tells us that no less a person than Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord High Admiral of England, who had sur-

“All and each of these acts were done and performed in the presence of the Reverend Fathers in

vived till 1616, did in that year—that is, fifty-seven years after the event, being of course in extreme old age—tell a certain person *whom Mason declines to name*, that he was present at Lambeth on the occasion, and that by special invitation, because he was related ‘by blood’ to Parker. This, says Le Courayer, is a better testimony than that of Neale in support of the Nag’s-head story. Is it indeed? Is it worth a withered rush? Let us see. Who is the nameless man from whom Mason heard it? The suppression of his name at once discredits the tale, and casts it to the winds. Common sense tells us, and must have told Mason too, that in such an affair the name was indispensable. Then he was invited because related by consanguinity to Parker. Now, I have no doubt that Parker’s father was an honest and respectable man, as a worsted weaver at Norwich; but to make us believe that he was related *by blood* to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, is drawing *rather* too deeply on our powers of belief. Then, how could that most particularising document, the account of the ceremony, which I have before quoted *in extenso*, fail to notice his honourable presence? What! name the registrar and subordinate officers, and leave unnoticed the presence, by special invitation, of the Right Hon. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, at a ceremony at five o’clock on a winter’s morning?—What! was this not known till the year of Grace 1616? this *secret* not revealed till 1616? Mason himself not knowing it when he published the first edition of his book? *Ohe! jam satis*. And one more argument I will advance, to show that the blood of the Howards did not run in the veins of Matthew Parker. Anglicans will surely believe the testimony of the writer of the Life of Parker in *De Antiquitate Brit. Eccl.*, for they attribute it to Parker himself, or some one closely connected with him. Now, that life simply states that Parker was born—‘*liberis parentibus*’—that is, his parents were not in a state of servitude. Is not this conclusive? And if so, the whole story tumbles to pieces.”

Archbishop Parker himself obtained the grant of a coat of arms—which original document is now in the possession of William Sandys, Esq., F.S.A.—from Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms. He is spoken of in it as “sprung from a distinguished family.” The grant was given on the 26th Nov., 1559. On the 28th May, 1572, his son, John Parker, obtained the grant of a crest from Robert Cooke, Clarencieux. For this information the author is indebted to the obliging courtesy of the present possessor of the grants.

Christ, Edmund Grindall, Bishop-elect of London ; of Richard Cockes, elect of Ely ; of Edwin Sandes, elect of Worcester ; of Anthony Huse, Esquire,* the principal and head registrar of the said archbishop ; of Thomas Argall, Esquire, Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury ; of Thomas Willett and John Incent, Notaries Public, and some others."

As regards the fact of Parker's consecration at Lambeth Palace, on December 17th, 1559, here so minutely described, there can be no shadow of doubt that this record of it is perfectly genuine, accurate, and original. The same handwriting which is found in Cranmer's and Pole's Registers is likewise found in Parker's, and the same Notaries Public testify to the consecrations and deeds in each. The idea, therefore, of forgery perpetrated, as some Roman Catholics assume, in the reign of King James, is an assumption at once gratuitous and unfounded.

* Anthony Huse, Esq., principal Registrar to Parker, has apparently entered the following in Cranmer's Register, for whom, as for Pole, he acted as an official :—1. At folio 321-327 inclusive, of Cranmer's Register, are the Records of Ridley's Consecration. 2. The record of Robert Ferrar's stands on the back of folio 327, and ends on the back of folio 329. 3. There is a Mandate and a second document concerning the translation of Thirlby on folio 329. 4. A Mandate for the translation of Ridley to London on folio 330. 5. Acts concerning the consecration of John Poynt for the bishopric of Rochester, on the back of folio 330. 6. Acts concerning the consecration of John Hooper, appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester, on folio 332. 7. Acts concerning the consecration of John Scory for the bishopric of Rochester, on folios 333-334. 8. Acts relating to the consecration of Miles Coverdale for the bishopric of Exeter, fol. 334. 9. Then follow the records concerning the consecration of John Taylor and John Harley ; and so end the Records of the Consecrations of Bishops in Cranmer's Register—all of which were entered and recorded by Anthony Huse. The same Registrar at once acted for Parker.

No one with any knowledge of such records could examine the Register of Archbishop Parker itself, and fail to admit the sterling stamp of authenticity marked on every page.* The dates of the various documents standing prior in order, which are there carefully recorded, are quite consistent with each other, and perfectly agree with independent civil documents existing elsewhere. Again: the duplicate record of this act of consecration, as preserved at Corpus Christi College is substantially at one with that of Parker's own Register. Moreover, there are two other original copies of the same in the State Paper Office, one believed to be contemporary,† and another of a succeeding period. Furthermore, the whole account shows—what was to have been looked for—that the Ordinal, as revised in the reign of King Edward VI., was mainly followed, and gives such an accurate history of what was actually done, including the acts of the bishops, preacher, and witnesses present, as it was important for the authorities of Church and State to have put on record at a crucial time in the history of the ancient Church of this land.

The letter on this subject, which is printed below

* A distinguished English Roman Catholic writes as follows:—"An important question is whether Parker's alleged consecration is genuine. I read the original, and did not perceive any thing upon the face of it which would lead to a supposition of its being a forgery. Indeed, it is as you know, so specific and minute in describing the dress of the parties concerned, the furniture of the chapel, etc., that it looks like a *procès verbal* carefully made." MS. Letter of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis, in the author's possession.

† There is a copy of the Register of Parker's consecration in the State Paper Office. *Vide* Tierney's edition of *Dodd's History*, ii.—colxxxiv.

as a note,* from the pen of that impartial and distinguished historian, Dr. John Lingard, will show

* "Mr. Editor,—In your last number a correspondent, under the signature of T. H., has called upon me to show why I have asserted that Archbishop Parker was consecrated on the 17th of December, 1559. Though I despair of satisfying the incredulity of one who can doubt after he has examined the documents to which I referred; yet I owe it to myself to prove to your readers the truth of my statement, and the utter futility of any objection which can be brought against it.

"I. The matter in dispute is, whether Parker received, or did not receive, consecration on the 17th of December; but the following facts are, and must be, admitted on both sides:—1st. That the Queen having given the royal assent to the election of Parker by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, sent on September 9th a mandate to six prelates to confirm and consecrate the Archbishop Elect, and that they demurred; excusing, as would appear from what followed, their disobedience by formal exceptions on points of law. 2nd. That on the 6th of December she issued a commission to seven bishops, ordering them, or any four of them, to perform that office, with the addition of a sanitary clause, in which she supplied, by her supreme authority, all legal or ecclesiastical defects, on account of the urgency of the time, and the necessity of things, '*temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante*:' which prove how much the Queen had the consecration at heart; certainly not without reason, for at that time, with the exception of Llandaff, there was not a diocese provided with a Bishop, nor, as the law then stood, could any such provision be made without a consecrated Archbishop to confirm and consecrate the Bishops elect. 3rd. That four out of seven Bishops named in the commission (they had been deprived or disgraced under Queen Mary, but had now come forward to offer their services and solicit preferments in the new Church), having obtained a favourable opinion from six counsel learned in the law, undertook to execute the commission, and confirmed Parker's election on the 9th of December.

"II. Now these facts being indisputable, what, I ask, should prevent the consecration from taking place? The Queen required it: Parker, as appears from his subsequent conduct, had no objection to the ceremony; and the commissioners were ready to perform it, or, rather, under an obligation to do so; for, by the 25th of Henry VIII., revived in the last Parliament, they were compelled, under the penalty of *præmunire*, to proceed to the consecration within twenty days after the date of the commission. Most certainly all these preliminary facts lead to the presumption that the consecration did actually take place about the time

that one so well accustomed to examine questions of historical fact, on the examination of this, could

assigned for it, the 17th of December, a day falling within the limits I have just mentioned.

“III. In the next place, I must solicit your attention to certain indisputable facts, subsequent to that period: these are, 1st. That on the 18th—and the day is remarkable—the Queen sent for Parker no fewer than six writs, addressed to him under the new style of Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and directing him to proceed to the confirmation and consecration of six bishops elect for six different sees. This was the first time during the six months which had elapsed since his election that any such writ had been directed to him; what, then, could have happened just before the 18th to entitle him to this new style, and to enable him to confirm and consecrate bishops, which he could not do before? The obvious answer, is that he himself had been consecrated on the 17th. 2nd. That on the 21st he consecrated four new bishops; on the 21st of January, five others; two more on the second, and two on the 24th of March. Can we suppose that so much importance would be attached to consecration given by him if he had received no consecration himself? or that the new church would have been left so long without bishops at all, if it had not been thought necessary that he who was by law to consecrate the others should previously receive that rite? 3rd. That afterwards, at the same time with the new prelates, he received the restoration of his temporalities—a restoration which was never made till after consecration. 4th. That he not only presided at the convocation, but sat in successive Parliaments, which privilege was never allowed to any but to consecrated bishops. In my judgment, the comparison of these facts with those that preceded the 17th of December, forms so strong a case that I should not hesitate to pronounce in favour of the consecration, if even all direct and positive evidence respecting it had perished.

“IV. But there exists such evidence in abundance. That Parker was consecrated on the 17th of December is asserted, 1st, by Camden [i. 49]; 2nd, by Godwin [‘De Præs.’ p. 219]: 3rd, by the Archbishop himself, in his work ‘De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ,’ published in 1572, three years before his death; or if that book be denied to be his, in his ‘Diary,’ in which occurs the following entry in his own hand,—‘17th Dec. ann. 1559, Consecratus sum in Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem. Heu! heu! Domine Deus, in quæ tempora servasti me’ [Strype’s Parker, App. 15]; and 4th, by the Archiepiscopal Register, a record which details the whole proceeding, with the names of the bishops, of their chaplains, and of the official witness.

come to no other conclusion than that Parker was duly consecrated at the time and place specified above.

The same deliberate judgment was arrived at by the late Mr. Charles Butler, one of the most gifted and able Roman Catholic controversialists of the last generation, who wrote as follows on this subject : —“ I am unable to understand those who maintain that the Protestant bishops went through a mock consecration at a tavern in Cheapside. If there is one historical fact, for which the existing evidence should render it undisputed, it is the fact of the consecration of Dr. Parker at Lambeth on Dec. 17th 1559. Nor, as I read the history of those times, was this fact disputed by the earliest vindicators of

“ V. Now to this mass of evidence, direct and indirect, what does your correspondent oppose? — that Harding, and Stapleton, and the more ancient Catholic controversialists, deny that Parker was a bishop. That is, indeed, true; but I always understood that their objections referred to the validity, not to the fact of his consecration. And if Dr. Milner has chanced to assert the contrary, I fear that he wrote it hastily, and without consideration. I am not aware of any open denial of the facts till about fifty years afterwards, when the tale of the foolery supposed to have been played at the Nag's Head was published. In refutation of that story, Protestant writers applied to the Register; their opponents disputed its authority, and the consequence was that in 1614 Archbishop Abbot invited Colleton, archpriest, with two or three other Catholic missionaries, to Lambeth, and submitted the Register to their inspection, in the presence of six of his own episcopal colleagues. The details may be seen in Dodd, ii. 277; or in Godwin, p. 219.

“ VI. Your correspondent assures us that the Register contains “ so many inaccuracies, and points at variance with the history of the times, as manifestly prove it a forgery.’ Were it so, there still remains sufficient evidence of the fact. But what induces T. H. to make this assertion? Has he examined into all the circumstances of the case? or does he only take for granted the validity of several objections which are founded on misconception, or ignorance that the Register agrees in every par-

our position.* They acknowledged the Archbishop's consecration, but they condemned its irregularity, and wrote actively against the abettors of schism and false doctrine. So, too, does Lingard." (*Reply to Bishop Philpotts' Fourth Letter*, p. 13. London: Keating, 1826.)

Other independent evidence of the fact of the consecration likewise exists. For example, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a MS. document or diary in the Archbishop's own handwriting, privately recording the chief events of his grace's eventful life, of which the following is an extract:—

"17 Decembr. Anno 1559. Consecratus sum in Archiepiscopum Cantuar.

"Heu ! heu ! Domine Deus, in quæ tempora servasti me ? Jam veni in profundum aquarum et tempestas demersit me.

"O Domine vim patior, responde pro me et Spiritu Tuo principali confirma me. Homo enim sum, etc." †

ticular with what we know of the history of the times, and there exists not the semblance of a reason for pronouncing it a forgery ?

"VII. Your readers will observe, that in this communication I have confined myself to the fact of Parker's consecration ; whether it was valid or invalid, according to Catholic doctrine, is a theological question, with which, as a mere writer of history, I had no concern.

"JOHN LINGARD."

—*Birmingham Catholic Magazine*, 1834.

* E. g. Hoskins, Sanders, Reynolds, Harpsfield, Allen, Stapleton, Harding, and Bristowe.

† The author is indebted to the kind courtesy of the Master of C. C. C. Cambridge, for the following:—"I certify that I have this day examined the Roll in question, and that the above quotation is a

Again: there is preserved, amongst the MSS. in the British Museum,* the private *Diary of Henry Machyn*, a London tradesman, living in the parish of Trinity the Little by Queenhithe, whose sympathies appear to have been on the opposite side to that of Parker and his allies, and who was an evident observer of men and things.

This volume was seriously damaged in the fire from which the Collection of Cottonian MSS. suffered; but was carefully repaired under Sir Frederic Madden's direction in 1827. In the year 1848 its contents were printed *verbatim et literatim* by the Camden Society, showing all the imperfections resulting from the fire; but at the same time supplying in brackets such of the lost portions as had been formerly extracted by Strype, who had consulted and used the MS. in his literary labours.

There are three passages in the book which relate to Archbishop Parker in the month of December 1559. The first, which probably mentioned his election, is gone. The second, recording his consecration, is perfect and complete, excepting the single word "Canterbury"; and it distinctly states that the ceremony took place at Lambeth. The three stand as follows:—

1. "

 Park]er electyd byshope of Canturbere.

2. "The xvij day of Desember was the nuw

true extract from it. Witness my hand this 23rd day of July, 1869.
 J. Pulling, D.D., Master of C. C. C."

* MSS. Cotton. Vitellius, F. v.

byshope of [Canterbury] doctur Parker was mad[e] ther at Lambeth.

3. "The xx day of Desember a-for non, was sant Thomas evyn, my lord of Canturbure whent to Bow chyrche and ther wer v nuw byshopes mad[e]."*

An attempt has been made, but with no great success, to maintain, or at least to imply, that this book is either a forgery,† or that the quotations above, or some portions of them, are interpolations. It is to be regretted that random charges of this character should be brought forward without proper investigation—for the most superficial inspection would have shown their groundlessness. And without any personal inspection of the MS. itself a judgment, delivered off-hand by those who apparently have a case to make out, because of the collapse of previous endeavours, is of no great value. Those, consequently, who have made rash charges should not complain if they are criticised by competent and impartial critics for having so done.†

Furthermore: another testimony to the fact of

* This quotation of course conclusively proves, 1st, that the consecration of Parker, as publicly known and reported, took place at Lambeth on Dec. 17th, 1559; and 2ndly, that the Nag's Head Fable is entirely at variance with the statements of the third extract.

"Now it is scarcely possible to believe that this man should have made such an entry unless the facts did then occur. For what, on the supposition of forgery in the Lambeth Register-book, are we called upon to believe? That the forger selected a date and place, both of which were false and never before heard of, and that a man whose manuscript they did not refer to, or which they could hardly have seen, did on the very day some sixty years before, suppose the same facts and enter them accordingly. Those who would believe this, would reject all evidence whatever." Letter to the *Times* from Rev. W. Denton, M.A. 48, Finsbury Circus, Dec. 15th, 1865.

† *Vide* Appendix XIV.

Parker's consecration is found recorded in William Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*. He wrote at a period before the Nag's Head Fable had been promulgated,* and these are an English version of his words :—

“Matthew Parker, a pious and learned man, and of very modest behaviour, who being chaplain-in-ordinary to Henry VIII. had presided as dean over the Collegiate church of Stoke-Clare, having been duly elected Archbishop of Canterbury, after the preaching of a sermon, the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the celebration of the Eucharist, by the imposition of the hands of three ex-bishops, namely of William Barlow, sometime Bishop of Bath, John Scory, sometime Bishop of Chichester, and Miles Coverdale, sometime Bishop of Exeter, and of John, Suffragan-Bishop of Bedford, was consecrated at Lambeth. He afterwards consecrated Edmund Grindall, etc.”†

It has thus been shown that Parker was duly and regularly consecrated Archbishop by four Bishops, and that this fact has been properly recorded both in the Lambeth Register and elsewhere. There is a record of the same given in a note to this chapter (p. 174), in the handwriting of the Archbishop's son, from the *De Antiq. Brit. Eccles.*‡ preserved at Lambeth, as well as a distinct account of the same act in

* *Vide* p. 1, note *.

† “Matthæus Parkerus, vir pius, eruditus, et moribus modestissimis, qui Henrico VIII a sacris, Collegiæ ecclesiæ Stoke-Clare decanus præfuerat, ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem rite electus, concione habita, Spiritu Sancto invocato, et Eucharistia celebrata, impositione manuum trium quondam episcoporum, Gul. Barlovi, Bathoniensis, Ioan. Scorii Ciceritrensis, Milonis Coverdali Exoniensis, et Ioan. suffraganei Bedfordiensis, Lambethæ consecratur. Ille postea consecravit Edmundum Grindallum, etc.”—*Camden. Annales Eliz.* p. 38. In Thomas Hearne's edition, p. 49.

‡ The following Tables from *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ* explain themselves :—

the printed life of his grace.* It has also been shown that the fact of this consecration is referred to and noted down in the private diary of the Archbishop. It has been proved, moreover, that in the year 1559, the public believed that such a consecration had regularly taken place, for it is mentioned

Episcopi ex Achademia Cantebrigiensi, ab anno 1500,
usq. ad annum 1571.

Sedes.	Nomina.	Gradus.	A.D.
Cantuar.	Thomas Cranmer.	Th. D.	1533.
....	Matth. Parker.	Th. D.	1559.
Hereforden.	Ioh. Scorie,	Th. B.	1559.
Cicestren.	Ioh. Scorie,	Th. B.	1551.
Exon.	Milo Coverdale.	Th. D.	1551.
Roffen.	Ioh. Scorie,	Th. B.	1551.

In Provincia Cant.

Academia.	Diocesis.	Nomen.	Grad.	Ordo.	Patri.	Ætas.	Consecratio et Confirmation.
Cantabr.	Cantuar.	Matt. Parker	Th. D.	Presb. Secu.	Norvicen.	lvj.	1559. Decem. 17.
	Cicestren.	Will. Barlowe	Th. D.	Presb. Regu.	Essex.	lx.	Conf. 1559. Dec. 20.
Cant.	Hereford.	Iohn Scorey	Th. Bac.	Presb. Regu.	Norfolcen.	xlviij.	Conf. 1559. Dec. 20.

It should be noted here—in reply to those who are never weary of scattering abroad charges of forgery—that the type and paper of the Life of Parker, as may be seen on examination, are precisely the same in character and substance as those of previous portions.

* “Anno itaque Domini 1559, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus electus est a Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Metropolitice Cantuariensis. Posteaque eodem anno 17 die Decembris, adhibitis quatuor Episcopis, W. Cicestrensi, Johanne Herefordensi, Milone quondam Exoniensi et Richardo [lege Joanne] Bedfordensi, lege quadam de hac re lata requisitis, consecratus est.”—*Life of Matthew Parker*, p. 151. And there is this MS. note in the margin:—“Hæ consecrationes et confirmationes in Registris apparent.”—“These consecrations and confirmations appear in the Register.”

as a matter of common notoriety in the diary of a London citizen; and finally it is also distinctly referred to by that careful and trustworthy historian William Camden.

The providing of further evidence,* therefore, may be reasonably held to be a work of supererogation.

* Godwin, *De Præsulibus*, p. 219, may be referred to, as mentioning the Lambeth Consecrations; and the original MS. Letters of the English Reformers and others recently discovered at Zurich and elsewhere, testify directly to the same historical fact.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NAG'S HEAD FABLE.

FOR the space of nearly forty-five years after the consecration of Archbishop Parker, those literary controversialists who continued so consistently to oppose the changes of the sixteenth century rested their case, in the main, on the irregularity and illegality of the consecrations of Parker and the Bishops whom he had consecrated, but not on their invalidity. Some writers plainly and frankly allowed the fact of the consecration.* Complaints were

* E.g. Sanders, in his treatise *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. iii., p. 347, allows that Queen Elizabeth obliged those appointed by her to bishoprics, to be ordained by certain persons and by certain ceremonies prescribed by the laws of the realm. The same statement occurs in a passage at p. 165 of the 8vo. edition of this book.—*Coloniæ Agrippinæ*: 1585. And Dr. Stapleton, another distinguished Roman Catholic controversialist, admits that the Bishops of Queen Elizabeth's reign were ordained according to an Act made in King Edward's days, i.e. according to the Revised Ordinal of 1552. *Vide* Preface to the *Counterblast*. 4to. Louvain: 1567. *Stapletoni Opera*, tom. ii., p. 828. Paris: 1620—Still further, as a negative testimony against the Fable, it should be remembered that only six years after Parker's consecration at Lambeth, the same Sanders had published a vigorous controversial work called *The Rock of the Church, wherein the Primacy of St. Peter and his Successors, the Bishops of Rome, is proved out of God's Word*. Louvain. 8vo. 1566: with a dedication to Archbishop Parker himself, in which no allusion whatsoever to the Nag's Head Fable is found. This book was reprinted, with alterations and additions, at St. Omer's, in 1624.—*Vide*, also, John Fludd's *Purgatorie's Triumph over Hell*, in a Letter to Sir Edward Hoby, by I.R., St. Omer's: 1613.—*Treatise of the Catholic Faith*, A.D. 1657, and *Nullity of the Prelatique Clergy*, A.D. 1659.—*Erastus Senior*, and *Erastus Junior*, both from the pen of John Lewgar, B.D., a convert to the Church of Rome, whose tracts, however, allow the fact and reality of the

made that the prelates in question had not been confirmed in their election to the episcopal office by the Holy See; and that, in the act of consecration, ancient canons had been disregarded and set at nought. Arguments were likewise ad-

The Nag's Head Fable.—Early arguments against the Anglican position, inconsistent with a belief in it.

vanced, founded on the non-use of the old *Salisbury Pontifical*, which, it was asserted, was enjoined to be followed by the Statute

Law of England; on the want of succession of Catholic doctrine; on the fact of Parker's marriage; on the unnecessary and irregular alterations of the ancient service; and more especially on the omission of unction and the delivery of the Eucharistic instruments in the new services. But no argument whatever, during the above-named period, can be found based on the fiction that Parker had never received episcopal consecration at all, but had gone through a mock form at a tavern in Cheapside; whereas, after the story had once been launched forth, scarcely any Roman Catholic controversial writer passed it over without notice. In truth, prior to the year 1604, the controversy had been carried on as if the question in dispute were of a purely theological nature; after that date it became a mere controversy of fact.

Lambeth consecration. *The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified, etc., and that infamous Fable of the Ordination at the Nag's Head clearly confuted.* By John Bramhall, D.D., Bishop of Derry. London: 1659. Of late years, since Dr. Lingard, Mr. Charles Butler, and Mr. Tierney, have so openly repudiated a belief in the Fable, few Roman Catholic writers, and none of mark, have advocated an opposite view. Mr. John Williams, however, is an exception; but his treatise, already referred to in a note, is a feeble and unworthy production from every point of view.—Edward Stephens, the Nonjuror, *On the Authority of the English Bishops*, published in 1700.

1. The first printed account of what is generally known as "The Nag's Head Fable," may be found in a Latin work published abroad, by "Christopher Holywood, S.J., who styled himself Christopherus a Sacrobosco."* From it the following passage is taken and put into English:—

"In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Bishops of the sectaries were to be made. They that wanted ordination met at London, at an Inn in Cheapside, at the sign of the Nag's Head, and with them came the old simple Bishop of Llandaff, to give them ordination; which as soon as Bonner, then Dean of the Bishops in England, came to understand, he sent his chaplain from the Tower, where he was imprisoned for his religion, to command Llandaff upon pain of excommunication, not to ordain the new Bishops. By which threat, Llandaff, being frightened, drew back, and making use of many pretences, avoided the sacrilegious ordination. Hereupon the persons waiting for orders began to be in a great rage, to abuse Llandaff, and to consider of taking new measures. To say no more, Scory, the Monk, afterwards the mock Bishop of Hereford, imposes hands upon the rest, and some of them impose hands upon Scory, and so the children are born without a father, and the father is begotten of the children, a thing never heard of in any age before. Thomas Neale,† reader of the Hebrew tongue at Oxford, who was present relating this narrative to the old confessors for religion, and they to me. And the story is confirmed by its being afterwards enacted in Parliament that these parliamentary prelates should be esteemed lawful Bishops."

The first printed account of it, published by Christopher Holywood.

On this narrative it may be remarked, first, that

* *De Investig. Verâ et Visib. Christi Eccl.* Antwerp: 1604, cap. iv., pp. 17-19.

† Thomas Neale, who was Hebrew lecturer at Oxford, from 1558 until 1569, lived at Cassington, in Oxfordshire, from that year to 1590.—*Vide Dodd's Church History*, vol. ii., p. 109, et seq.

the Bishop of Llandaff had already taken the oath of Supremacy ; and, secondly, that as Bonner had been deposed, his excommunication would probably not have been regarded.

2. Another version of the story is given in *Parson's Discussion of the Answere of M. Barlowe, D.D., to the judgment of a Catholique Englishman, etc., 1612.** (A posthumous work of which the Preface was from the pen of Fitzherbert), as follows :—

“ Of Mr. Jewell's being a bishop we have no certainty at all. For who, I pray you, made him? Who gave him his jurisdiction? Who imposed hands upon him? What orders had they? What bishops were they? True it is that both he, Sands, Scorye, Horne, Grindall, and others (if I mistake not their names), in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, met at the Horse Head in Cheapside (a fit sign for such a Sacrament), and being disappointed of the Catholic Bishop of Llandaffe, who should there have come to consecrate them, they used the like acts that the Hollands did in another matter, who, being desirous to eat flesh on Good Friday, and yet fearing the penalties of the laws in such cases appointed, took a pig, and driving him under the water, said, ‘*Down pig, up pike,*’ and thereafter constantly avouched that they had eaten no flesh but fish. So I say these grave prelates assembled as aforesaid, seeing the bishop whom they expected came not to consecrate them, they dealt with Scorye of Hereford to do it, who, when they were all on their knees, caused him who kneeled down ‘John Jewell’ to rise up Bishop of Salisbury, and him that was ‘Robert Horne’ afore to rise up Bishop of Winchester, and so forth with all the rest, which Horse-head ordering was after confirmed synodically by Parliament, wherein they were acknowledged for true bishops ; and it was further enacted that none should make any doubt, or

Fitzherbert's
account of the
Nag's Head
Fable from the
Preface to Par-
son's Treatise.

* Without a printer's or publisher's name.

call in question that ordination. This was the first ordering of Mr. Jewell and the rest, as I have been informed by one that heard it from Mr. Neale, Reader of the Hebrew Lecture in Oxford, who was there present, and an eye-witness of what was done and passed." (p. 135.)

3. Fitzsimon's version,* put into English, stands thus:—

"When religion was to be totally altered by Queen Elizabeth, the true bishops either being fled whithersoever they could, or committed to prison; several hungry sacrilegious men gaped after the vacant preferments, and the Queen was inclined to give them to such of those persons who appeared for them, as could at least have some show of episcopal consecration. By the law of the land, conformably to the Canon Law, three bishops are required to consecrate a bishop, and without that number none is looked upon to be duly consecrated. But at this time there were not three nor two nor one bishop in all England (as the authors I have before referred to affirm), that could and would consecrate the others. (p. 319). He was aware that one English bishop, the meanest of them for wisdom and learning, Anthony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, turned over to the Reformers. But even he, though commissioned in the first place by Q. Elizabeth, was so far from executing the wicked commission (whether being frightened by Bonner's threatening, or of himself abhorring so profane an action) that he pretended himself to be blind, and consequently unable to perform the office, which he says Stowe, the Chronicler, confessed upon all occasions, though he durst not publish it upon all occasions, for fear of being put out of the synagogue. There was at that time an Irish archbishop prisoner at the Tower, whom, with the promise of his liberty and a good reward, they humbly requested to take pity of the Church in her great want

* *Britannomachia Ministrorum in plerisque et Fidei fundamentis, et Fidei Articulis Dissidentium.* Lib. iii., cap. 5, p. 4 & 5, pp. 316 et seq. Doway: 1614.

of ministers, and to perform the ordination.* But the good man, as Sanders says, could not be prevailed upon by any means to lay his holy hands upon hereticks, and to be partaker of other men's sins. And they, having in vain tried so many ways of gratifying their own hasty ambition, when no other remedy offered itself, they themselves met together on a day agreed upon, *Anno* 1559, at the Nag's Head or Horse Head Tavern, in the chief street in London, Cheapside. That they resolved to go on to the main part of the comedy, and to finish the work they had entered upon in an hasty disorderly manner. Out of the company, they made choice of Scory, an apostate monk. Junius says (but with the religion of a Calvinist) that in the Church, imposition of hands was anciently nothing but a friendly taking the person by the hand. Scory having this reflection in his head, bids them all fall down upon their knees, and then taking Parker by the hand, says, 'Up! rise Lord Bishop of Canterbury;' and again, in like manner, to Grindall, 'Up! rise Lord Bishop of London:' so to Horne, 'Up! rise Lord Bishop of Winchester;' and then to Sands, 'Up! rise Lord Bishop of Worcester.' But this was not the end of the play, which it is a great importance not to conceal, for it was not fit that our unhappy Ischyra should return from the tavern unrewarded, but should, for this worthy action, be promoted to the Bishopric of Hereford. But who could give it to the ambitious apostate? You need not ask that question. In such an irregular ordination, no wonder if by a strange prodigy the father be begotten by one of his sons. For that it was so in fact, Thomas Neale, an eye-witness of the whole mock con-

* It is unfortunate that the name of this Irish archbishop was not given, as there would have been then some chance of discovering who and what he was. However, it is capable of proof that no Irish archbishop or bishop was at that time (1559) either in the Tower or in any other prison in England. The See of Armagh was vacant, Dowdall having died in August, 1558, and his successor, O'Teigg, was not consecrated until 1560, and did not come to England until the end of that year. Creagh, his successor, was not consecrated until 1563; and as to the other archbishops, they conformed to the new state of affairs, and all retained their Sees.

secration (which he came from Oxford on purpose to see), declared both to Thomas Haberley, a pious, grave, and reverend old man, now living in the Netherlands, and to many others." (p. 321).

4. The next writer who adopts the Nag's Head Fable is Wadsworth.* In a letter dated April 1st, 1615, to be found in sec. xi., p. 12 of his "Copies of Certain Letters, etc.", the following occurs:—

"Whereas the Councils require three bishops to assist at the consecration of a bishop, it is certain that at the Nag's Head in Cheapside, where consecration of your bishops was attempted but not effected,† Wadsworth's account of the Nag's Head Fable. whereabouts I remember the controversy you had with one), there was but one bishop, and I am sure there was such a matter: and although I know, and have seen the records themselves that afterward there was a consecration of Dr. Parker at Lambeth, and three bishops named, viz.:—Miles Coverdall of Exeter, one Hodgskin suffragan of Bedford, and another whose name I have forgotten, yet it is very doubtful that Coverdall, being made Bishop of Exeter in King Edward's time (when all Councils and Church Canons were little observed), he was never himself canonically consecrated, and so, if he were no canonical bishop, he could not make another canonical, and the third un-named, as I remember, but am not sure, was only a bishop-elect, and not consecrated, and so was not sufficient. But hereof I am sure that they did consecrate Parker by virtue of a Breve from the Queen as Head of the Church."

* *Copies of Certain Letters which have Passed between Spain and England in the Matter of Religion, etc., between Master James Wadsworth, a late Pensioner of the Holy Inquisition at Sivill, and W. Bedell, a Minister of the Gospel in Suffolke.* London: 1624.

† Here Wadsworth plainly contradicts other recorders of the Fable. Elsewhere, in a *Letter to a Friend*, A.D. 1605, sec. xi., pp. 12-13, he writes:—"I know, and have seen the records themselves, that there was a consecration of Dr. Parker at Lambeth, and three bishops named, viz., Miles Coverdale, of Exeter; one Hodgeskin, Suffragan of Bedford; and another whose name I have forgotten."

5. Kellison relates the story in his book, *Examen Novæ Reformationis*, published in 1616. But it is very remarkable that thirteen years previously, *i.e.* in 1603, before Holywood had first promulgated it, the same Kellison, who had issued a previous work *An English Survey of the New Religion*,* did not in the slightest degree allude to the story. In the *Examen*, p. 165, there occurs a Latin version of the following:—

“They were obliged to wait upon an Irish archbishop, then a prisoner in the Tower, and with many entreaties and offers of great rewards to desire him to lay hands upon them That bishop refusing, they were forced to accept Scorey’s help and assistance, which otherwise they had not desired, because they knew him only to be a titular bishop, and unlawfully made in King Edward’s time. So, he says, Constable relates it from Stowe, who though he durst not put it into his *Chronicle*, yet used often to tell it to the Catholics, of whom some are yet alive. Many others, worthy of all credit, have related the same; and one Thomas Neale, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, who also himself was an eye-witness, used to declare to many persons (whereof some are yet living) that this consecration of the first mock-Bishops under Q. Elizabeth was in a tavern in London, at the Nag’s Head, in Cheapside—a fit church for such a consecration.”

6. A sixth version of the story is given by Dr. Champney in a treatise entitled *De Vocatione Ministrorum*, (Paris: 1618)—an English version of which

* In Sutcliffe’s *Examination and Confutation of Kellison’s Survey*, etc. London: 1606, he states (chap. 1, p. 5) the well-known facts of the Lambeth consecration as follows:—“Bishop Parker was consecrated by the imposition of hands of Bishop Barlow, Bishop Coverdale, Bishop Scory, and two Suffragans, mentioned in the act of consecration yet to be seen, which not only had succession from such bishops as our adversaries account lawful, but indeed were lawful bishops.”

was also published at Doway in 1616 by the author:—

“In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, the Catholic Bishops being deprived and committed to prison, others were to be made and placed in their Sees. They who were nominated and appointed to that dignity,* met by appointment in London at an inn, at the sign of the Nag’s Head, in Cheapside. Thither also came, upon invitation, the Bishop of Llandaff, a very ancient and decrepid, and a weak and timorous man. By him the new candidates expected to be ordained, which Bonner, Bishop of London, then in prison for religion, having some intimation of, threatened Llandaff with excommunication if he ordained them. He being frightened with this message, and being also possibly touched with the checks of his own conscience, drew back, and, pretending that his eyes were too weak, refused to lay hands on them. The expectants, therefore, being disappointed of what they hoped for, and, looking upon it as his putting a trick and abuse upon them, began to load the old man with reproaches, whom before they had treated with great honour and respect, some of them saying, ‘This doating old fool thinks we shall not be Bishops except we be greased,’ ridiculing both the ancient Bishop and the Catholic ceremony of consecration. But being thus disappointed of a consecrator, they were forced to take new measures, and addressed themselves to Scorye, an apostate monk, who, having borrowed the name of Bishop in King Edward’s time, was thought to have sufficient power to perform the office, especially in such a straight necessity. He, who with his religious habit had laid aside all conscience, soon did the business, making use of this ceremony. Having the Bible in his hand, they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their heads and

Champney’s
account of the
Nag’s Head
Fable.

* Dr. Champney, in chapter xv., p. 203, of the English edition of his work, names fifteen persons whom he asserts to have been consecrated in a mock manner at the Nag’s Head Inn, viz., Parker, Grindall, Horne, Cox, Bullingham, Bentham, Barkeley, Alley, Sandys, Scrambler, Davis, Young, Pilkington, Best, and Downham.

shoulders, saying, 'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God sincerely;' and so they rose up Bishops. This whole relation, without adding or detracting any word pertaining to the substance of the matter, I had more than once from the mouth of a reverend priest, Mr. Thomas Bluett, a very grave, learned, and prudent man, who said he heard it from Mr. Neale, a person of great reputation and learning, sometime Reader of the Hebrew or Greek Lecture in Oxford, but when this matter passed was belonging to Bonner, and sent by him to deliver the message before-mentioned to the Bishop of Llandaff, and withal to attend there to see the end of the business. Mr. Bluett had other good means to be informed of this matter, being a long time prisoner with Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, and other men of note, of the ancient clergy, in whose time and in whose light (as a man may say) this matter was done." (p. 194-195.)

The numerous varieties of detail and plain contradictions in the above six different records of the Fable will have been obvious to the reader; while the utter improbability of the whole story in general, whether in germ or developed, can hardly fail to have been noted. Not one writer, it should be remarked, speaks of the transaction as coming within his own observation or knowledge; while the hearsay evidence upon which almost all of them depend is in every case, except one, second-hand. The recorders of the story contradict each other as to the number of persons present, and some assert that only those were present who were chiefly concerned in the mock consecrations attempted. They are not at one, moreover, with regard to their informant Neale, some implying that he was resident with Bonner in the Tower, others that he was directly employed as agent by Bonner; others, again, that he was in

Contradictions
in the various
accounts and
records of the
same.

Oxford at the time; and some that he came to London upon the occasion on his own motion and out of mere curiosity. They contradict each other, likewise, as to the number of persons who underwent the profane ceremony in question, as also with regard to the action of the Bishop of Llandaff; and, furthermore, as to whether the mock consecration took place immediately after his refusal to act or not. Some refer to, while others ignore, an application for consecration made to a certain Irish archbishop; which application, however, is altogether inconsistent with the leading features of the story as put on record by others. Furthermore, the above writers manifestly contradict each other as to the words used, as also to the ceremonies employed in this profane mockery of a sacred and solemn act; while all maintain that its accuracy depends upon the supposed voluntary report of a single individual, made long after the act was said to have been done,—an individual who left no record of what he imagined himself to have heard and seen, and whose improbable story, if it was his, was not told until fourteen years after his death.

The late Rev. M. A. Tierney, the learned Roman Catholic antiquary and historian, agreeing completely with Dr. Lingard, expressed the following judgment regarding this Fable:—"It is evident that Dodd [the historian] was inclined to favour the story of the Nag's Head consecration. I must own, however, that, after a careful perusal of all that has been written on the subject, I am compelled to adopt the opposite opinion." * Elsewhere Mr. Tierney

* *Dodd's Church History*: Edited by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F.R.S., Vol. II., Appendix xlii. Foot note p. cclxxvii. London: 1839.

styles it "the supposed mummary in Cheapside."*

The late Mr. Welby Pugin, whose inquiries into the true history of our religious changes during the sixteenth century were cut short by his untimely death, coinciding with Dr. Lingard and Mr. Tierney, wrote as follows:—

"The historical maw which can take in as truth the ridiculous fable, invented by gossips beyond the seas,—that the Anglican Bishops after the schism were so pretended to be made by a mock consecration at some Cheapside tavern,—must be very capacious indeed. The silliness of the invention, and possibly of the inventors,—whose idea of the mental obtuseness of Elizabeth's advisers and of Parker himself, must have been queer,—is only equalled by the gullibility of those of our own day, who still profess to believe in the fiction. I cannot be patient with such. For slander is a poor substitute for argument. Let us be content with the latter, discriminatingly used."†

But further reasons for entirely discrediting the story must be given *seriatim*:—

1. Those who record the act, disagree both as to who were consecrated and who were the consecrators; points of great importance as regards the truth of the tale.

Reasons for
discrediting
and rejecting
the Nag's Head
Fable.

* *Dodd's Church History*, vol. ii., Appendix, foot note, p. cclxxxix.

† The author was favoured with the above by Mr. C. T. Walmsley, a Roman Catholic layman, of Fisherton, who wrote to him in 1864, as follows:—"I send you with pleasure copies of the late Mr. Pugin's Letters on the Reformation, as far as they relate to the inquiry you are making. They were intended, it is believed, to form part of his treatise, partly written before his severe illness, *A New View of an Old Subject*, taking up some of the questions considered in his *Earnest Appeal*.

2. They neither name the Notary Public who recorded the acts of the so-called consecration, nor the Registrar who drew them up; nor is there any certificate existing that any such acts were ever done at the time and place specified.

3. It is wholly incredible that, amongst all the theological controversies carried on during Queen Elizabeth's reign, no one ever mentioned, much less came forward in support of, the story with which Neale was afterwards credited.

4. The illegality of the act, in the face of laws which were plain, potent, well-known, universally regarded and carefully enforced, would have rendered those who took part in it liable to the severest punishment.

5. The slender evidence upon which the story rests, is of such a nature that its like would never be received in a court of justice, as tending to convict an accused person.

6. Thomas Neale, the one single witness in its favour named, who had died in 1590, fourteen years before it was published, never testified to its truth upon oath, either before a Notary Public or a Judge, nor left any record of the same in writing.

7. There was no necessity whatsoever for the performance of so gratuitous a piece of profanity; for there were, as we know, a considerable number of validly-consecrated Bishops in England; while of those in Ireland, who conformed to the new order of things, twelve retained their ancient position and their Sees.

8. The various records of the Nag's Head Fable

Portions of those transmitted were published some years ago, *i.e.* in 1851, if I remember rightly, in the *Salisbury Journal*."

obviously misrepresent the attitude of Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff. For he took the Oath of Supremacy, was never dispossessed of his offices and rights; on the contrary, he retained his Bishopric, complying with the new order of things, until his death in 1563.

9. Such a pretended consecration could be of no possible advantage either to the consecrator or to the consecrated. It would have proved a bar rather than a step to their respective advancement; and, furthermore, all concerned in it would have subjected themselves to deprivation, degradation, and a *præmunire*.

10. This story flatly contradicts the dates of all the independent records, civil as well as ecclesiastical, regarding the appointment and true making of those persons bishops who were said to have been ordained in mockery at the Nag's Head Tavern. It does so as regards place, time, consecration, mode and form of consecration, and persons consecrated.*

11. It also flatly contradicts the whole of the historical and personal records of Parker's consecration, by Barlow† and three other bishops, as well known, amply proved, and already minutely and sufficiently set forth in this treatise.

12. Finally, it is historically contrariant to the

* *E.g.*, in John Stowe's *Description of London*, of which the first edition was published in 1603, he records Grindall's consecration to that See on December 21st, 1559, four days after the consecration of Parker, a fact and date in perfect harmony with the documents of the Lambeth Register, and at complete variance with the date of the supposed mock consecration at the Nag's Head, Cheapside,—September 7th, 1559.

† Barlow died in August, 1568, having been a bishop for thirty-two years. His consecration was first questioned forty-eight years after his death, and eighty years after his consecration, by Dr. Champney in 1616.

notorious fact that John Scory had already been solemnly consecrated bishop at Croydon, in the presence of four Public Notaries, by Archbishop Cranmer as consecrator, assisted by Ridley, Bishop of London, and Hodgkins, Suffragan-Bishop of Bedford, as assistants, on the 30th of August, 1551, eight years prior to the date provided for the pretended consecration in Cheapside.

It is concluded, consequently, that the six various statements, quoted above, are, each and all, without adequate foundation ; and that the formal evidence already produced in favour of the solemn consecration of Parker at Lambeth, on December 17th, 1559 ; and, by inference, of other bishops in due course afterwards, is in itself as strong, consistent, coherent, and complete, as that for the Nag's Head Fable is hazy, futile, contradictory, and false.*

* For further arguments, if wanted, the reader may consult Browne's complete and exhaustive treatise, *The Story of the Ordination of our First Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, at the Nag's Head Tavern, examined and proved to be a Fable.* London : 1731.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CASE OF BISHOP BONNER *VERSUS* BISHOP HORNE.

BY an Act of Parliament, passed in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, any bishop was formally empowered to tender the Oath of Supremacy to any ecclesiastical person within his diocese, and the person refusing to take the oath was to incur a *præmunire*.

This being so, Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, —so consecrated by Parker and others, February 16th, 1560—tendered the said oath to Bonner, ex-bishop of London, then a prisoner in the Marshalsea—a prison within Horne's diocese and jurisdiction. Bonner, however, refused to take the oath; upon which Horne certified his refusal to the Court of Queen's Bench, and the former was indicted on the statute. But Bishop Bonner at once put in an appearance, and prayed the Court to be heard in his defence, putting in a plea of abatement that he had not been styled "Bishop of London," and another plea maintaining that he was not in any way liable to prosecution, because the said Horne, called by himself and by certain others, "Bishop of Winchester," was not indeed Bishop of Winchester at all, not having been elected, consecrated, or appointed according to the laws of the Catholic Church, nor lawfully consecrated according to the laws of England, more especially according to the 25 Henry VIII. To

The case in the Court of Queen's Bench between Bishops Bonner and Horne stated and considered with reference to the Nag's Head Fable.

these pleas others were added, questioning the legality of Elizabeth's Oath of Supremacy, maintaining that the Acts of the 1 and 2 Elizabeth had no force in law, by reason of the want of consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in Parliament assembled.

Bonner and his legal advisers also maintained that Horne at his consecration had not either an archbishop and two bishops,* or four bishops, as plainly required by the Statute 25 Henry VIII., cap. 20; that he was an intruder, an adulterer, and a heretic; that he had been consecrated according to the Revised Ordinal, which, at the time of its use in Horne's case, had not been restored by law; and, therefore, that his consecration was illegal. Bonner maintained, furthermore, that Archbishop Parker had not himself been legally consecrated, inasmuch as Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Bale, with the Suffragan Bishops of Bedford and Thetford, though Bishops in King Edward VI.'s reign, had been formally and regularly deposed by Queen Mary, and had not been legally and properly restored by Queen Elizabeth; so that Horne had not three bishops—

* The whole of the ably-stated pleas of Bishop Bonner, rest on precisely the same grounds as the current arguments of those keen controversialists who had so vigorously and powerfully assailed the innovating school during Edward's, Mary's, and Elizabeth's reigns. These pleas are a clear and conclusive proof that Bonner was wholly unacquainted with the story of the Nag's Head consecration, notwithstanding that his name was afterwards mixed up with those of Kitchin of Llandaff, and Thomas Neale, mentioned in connection with it. Had Bishop Bonner known as facts those obvious fictions which later Roman Catholic writers assumed him to have been acquainted with, his pleas before the Court of Queen's Bench would have been of quite a different character to those advanced; and the whole case would have lain in a nutshell, and been altogether unworthy of argument.—*Vide Coke's Institut. iv. p. 321, et seq.*

(Bonner evidently meant three legal bishops, three bishops competent to act), nor even one bishop to consecrate him.* The case never came to a final issue. Whether such a result was connived at or arranged by the authorities, or whether the delay was merely accidental, is not now easily to be determined. But such was the fact. At length the Declaratory Act of 1566 was passed, reciting what had been done previously as regards the consecration of bishops, and directing that those consecrations should be held to be good and legal. This Act is given at length in the Appendix.† A reference to it will show at once that it was not the *validity*, but the *legality* of the consecrations which was in dispute, and was thus settled.

This point will appear quite clear by recurring to the Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI., which declares that “the King, etc., had caused the Order of Common Service, entitled *The Book of Common Prayer*, to be made perfect, and had annexed and joined it to the present statute; adding also *A Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*” (which had been originally drawn up and published separately) “to be of like force, authority, and value as the same like aforesaid *Book of Common Prayer* was before.” And the sixth section of the Act goes on to speak of the whole as one Book, as follows: “And, if any person be present at any other manner and form of

* *Vide Dyer's Reports, Michaelmas Term, Anno Eliz. 6 and 7.* Strype's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I., p. 341. *Charity Maintained by Catholics*, cap. vi. (written by Wilson under the name of E. Knott).

† *Vide Appendix VIII.*

Common Prayer, or administration of the Sacraments, or making of Ministers in the Churches, or of any other rites contained in the Book annexed to this Act, than is mentioned and set forth in said book, he shall be imprisoned, etc.”

Here, of course, the forms of ordaining and consecrating are obviously included under the term “rites,” if they are not expressly described by other language. At all events, all the services, forms, and ceremonies set forth, are described as making one book: so that the Statute 1 Elizabeth, restoring the *Book of Common Prayer*, authorised by Act of Parliament in the 5th and 6th years of King Edward, obviously and clearly restored, quite regularly and legally, the Revised Forms for Ordination and Consecration previously in use.

That this was so is furthermore evident from an inspection of the actual copies existing of what is known as the “Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI.” Specimens of this book, though not common, are certainly not rare. They may be seen in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the Library of Queen’s College, Oxford, and elsewhere. The book was printed in 1552. The respective sheets are regularly lettered in due order on the margin below, from beginning to end. There is a Table of Contents on the back of the title-page, in which the Forms for Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating the clergy appear in their anticipated order and proper place. The printer’s name duly stands on the title-page; and, at the end

The Revised Ordinal formed a part of the Book of Common Prayer as legally set forth under King Edward VI.

of the service for consecrating a Bishop, the same name is also again printed, together with the date, in the colophon.

A reference to certain documents will prove the consecration of Bishop Horne to have taken place formally, regularly, in accordance with the existing law both of Church and State, and at a period considerably subsequent to the supposed date of the Nag's Head consecration:—

James Pilkington was first elected to the Bishopric of Winchester on Jan. 31st, 1560 ; but Queen Elizabeth having desired that he might go to Durham instead, a fresh *Congé d'eslire* was issued for the election of Robert Horne, dated May 26th [no year is given in the document itself,] which document is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 613. The *Congé d'eslire* was received by the Chapter on Dec. 4th. The certificate to the Queen, announcing the fact of the formal election of Horne is dated Dec. 11th, and that to the Bishop-elect, informing him of his election, bears the same date. These documents are still existing in their proper place and order in the diocesan Register of Winchester. The Royal Assent to his election, and the Mandate to the Archbishop to confirm and consecrate him, are dated Feb. 12th, 1560, and can be found in Parker's Register. The confirmation took place on Feb. 15th of the same year, before Dr. Thomas Yale, Chancellor of the diocese of Canterbury, at Bow Church, John Mulleyns, or Moleyns, Archdeacon of London, —so appointed Dec. 13th, 1559, by Parker—being the proxy of the Bishop-elect, and the Consecration at Lambeth Chapel, Feb. 16th, 1560-1. Horne was

Evidence for
the regular and
legal Consecra-
tion of Robert
Horne to the
Bishopric of
Winchester.

duly consecrated by “Matt. Cantuar., assistentibus Thome Young, Meneven. E’po. electo Eboracen.” “Edm. London.” “Tho. Lichf. et Cov.”—(*Vide* Lambeth Register.) Horne was installed by proxy,—William Overton, Prebendary of Winchester, acting as such, in obedience to the certificate of Archbishop Parker, enjoining his enthronization, dated Feb. 17th, and of the proxy-paper of Horne himself, dated Feb. 19th (*Vide* Winchester Register). There is the deed of composition amongst the records of Tithes and First-fruits, still in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, of “Robertus, permissione divinâ, Winton. e’pus” for First-fruits, dated March 20th, 1560-1, by virtue of a Royal Warrant, dated two days previously, which proves that Bishop Horne had received the temporalities of the See since the previous Michaelmas.

It is gathered, therefore, from a consideration of these documents,—the most important of which are printed at length in the Appendix,*—that Robert Horne was duly, legally, and regularly consecrated on Feb. 16th, 1560-1, and did not undergo the mock form at the Nag’s Head Tavern, on Sept. 9th, 1559.† This latter conclusion will be readily arrived

* *Vide* Appendix No. XVII.

† Those who may desire to see for themselves the undoubted evidence which exists for the legal and regular consecration of other Bishops whose names are mentioned as having gone through the mock consecration at the Nag’s Head Tavern, should consult Vol. III. of the Oxford Edition of *The Works of John Bramhall, D.D.*, A.D. 1844, edited, with such painstaking care and marked ability, by the Rev. A. W. Haddan, M.A. The following exhaustive work may be also consulted:—*The Story of the Ordination of our First Bishops at the Nag’s Head Tavern in Cheapside, throroughly examined and proved to be a late-invented, inconsistent, self-contradicting, and absurd Fable*, etc. By

at from a perusal of the various acts recorded in the concluding extracts from the diocesan Register of Winchester, given in the particular Appendix already referred to relating to Bishop Horne.

Thomas Browne, B.D., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: 1731.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

“BAPTISMUS est janua sacramentorum,” is a proposition universally accepted in the Christian Church. By natural birth man acquires a position in the order of nature: by supernatural birth he obtains a place in the order of grace. This latter takes place in Baptism. By that Sacrament we are cleansed from original or birth-sin, we are made mem-
The necessity of the Sacrament of Baptism. This the door of other Sacraments.
 bers of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven. This spiritual regeneration bestowed in Baptism, is absolutely necessary to salvation, as is declared by our Blessed Lord: “Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* The term “water” in this passage has always been understood by the Church Universal in its literal sense, as may be noted from various passages in the New Testament, and from the manner in which our Blessed Saviour’s Apostles fulfilled His commandment. So that the passage quoted from the Gospel according to St. John, refers directly and explicitly to the Sacrament of Baptism, which is thus declared

* *Vide* St. John iii. 5. *Ibid.* iii. 23-26. *Ibid.* iv. 2. St. Matthew xxviii. 19. Acts ii. 41. *Ibid.* viii. 36. *Ibid.* x. 47. Book of Common Prayer, (1) “The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants, to be used in Church.” (2) “The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children in Houses.” (3) “The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years, and able to answer for themselves.”

to be necessary to salvation. Moreover, the expressions of the text in question imply that Baptism is necessary, not simply as the fulfilment of a precept is necessary, because its voluntary omission would be a sin, *necessitate præcepti*; but that it is absolutely necessary as a means positively conducing to salvation, so that without it salvation could not be obtained, even though its omission were involuntary, *necessitate medii*. This is evident from the expressions and terms—so general and inclusive—at the commencement of the text, as also from what is further on declared by our Lord: “That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit,”* and from the universal practice of the Church.

Now, though Baptism is thus necessary to salvation, its defect in those who, by no fault of their own, have not received it, may, according to the ordinary teaching of Western Catholic doctors, †

* St John, iii. 6.

† On the subject of Baptism, the following amongst other Western authors are quoted for the statements of the text:—Bellarminus, *De Baptismo*, cap. i., 6. Cornelius a Lapide, *Comment. in Ioan.*, iii., 6. Billuart, *De Bapt. Disser.*, I., Art. iii., sec. 3. Martene, *De Antiquis Ritibus Ecclesiæ*, Lib. I., cap. i., art. xiv., notes 4 and 14. *Ibid.* Art. xvi., Notes 11, 12. *Ibid.* Art. xviii. Catalani, *Pontificale Romanum Commentariis Illustratum*, Pars. I., tit. i., sec. 8, note 1. Fornici, *Institutiones Liturgicæ*, pars ii., cap. xl. De Lugo, *De Sacramentis*, Disp. ix., n. 130. *Ibid.* sec. iii., n. 22. *Ibid.* sec. ii., n. 12. De Lugo, *De Fide*, Disp. xiii., n. 63, and n. 116-119. Denzinger, *Enchiridion etc.*, n. 14, 16, 20, 21, 22, 62, and 63. In the Eastern Churches, the form of Baptism differs materially from that used in the West. It runs thus:—

“The servant of God [or “of Christ”] is baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.” *Vide* Goar’s Paris Edition of the *Euchologion*. This form was pronounced to be valid in the well-known Decree of Pope Eugenius IV. On this subject may be consulted Arcudius, quoted by Catalani in his *Commentary on the Roman Pontifical*; De Lugo, *De Sacramentis*, disp. ii., sec. vi., n. 109,

be supplied in two modes, as follows:—1. By an act of perfect charity, which, of course, includes a desire for baptism, and which is termed *Baptismus fluminis*. 2. By martyrdom, even in the case of infants, who put to death, as were the Holy Innocents, for the sake of Christ, are saved, which is termed *Baptismus sanguinis*. Without ordinary baptism, *Baptismus fluminis*, therefore, or without undergoing one of the two exceptional baptisms here described, no one belongs, properly speaking, to the body of the Church, or is capable of receiving any other sacrament. In other words, ordination can only be received by a man who has been baptized.

1. Baptismus fluminis.
2. Baptismus fluminis.
3. Baptismus sanguinis.

Thus much on this point, therefore. It is now necessary to show that the Church of England, by her baptismal formularies, uses forms for Holy Baptism, which are perfectly good and unquestionably valid:—

The Baptismal formularies of the Church of England.

1. In the *Public Baptism of Infants*,* the following may be found:—

Then the Priest shall take the Child into his hands, and shall say to the Godfathers and Godmothers:—

“Name this Child.”

And then naming it after them (if they shall certify him that the Child may well endure it), he shall dip it in the water discreetly and warily, saying:—

and Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, lib. i., cap. i., art. xviii. It should also be noted here, as Martene points out, that in some of the ancient Gallican Service Books certain words—e.g., “ut habeas vitam æternam,” “ut habeas vitam æternam in sæcula sæculorum,” and “in remissionem peccatorum ut habeas vitam æternam,” stand after “Spiritus Sancti” in the Western Form.—Vide Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, lib. i., cap. i., art. xiv.

* The font is “then to be filled with pure water.”—*Rubric*.

“N. I baptize thee In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

But if they certify that the Child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying the aforesaid words.

2. In the *Private Baptism of Infants*, the following occurs :—

First let the Minister of the Parish (or, in his absence, any other lawful Minister that can be procured), with them that are present, call upon God and say the Lord's Prayer, and so many of the Collects as are appointed to be said before in the “Form of Public Baptism,” or the time and present exigence will suffer. And then the Child being named by some one that is present, the Minister shall pour water upon it, saying these words :—

“N. I baptize thee In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

3. In the *Public Baptism for such as are of Riper Years*, the directions are as follows :—

Then shall the Priest take each person to be baptized by the right hand, and placing him conveniently by the Font, according to his discretion, shall ask the Godfathers and Godmothers the name, and then shall dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying :—

“N., I baptize thee In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

Here, in each case, is seen that form, matter * and minister—the three essential things in the administration of this Sacrament—are duly provided.

* The words “form” and “matter” are scholastic terms introduced about the thirteenth century. The things signified by them were of course always carefully distinguished. Anciently the “matter” was termed “res” or “elementum.” That which determines it, now called the “form” was by some ancient writers termed “verbum.” The minister too is essential, for he must apply the above matter and form, with the intention of doing what Our Blessed Lord commanded and the Church enjoins.

And when it is borne in mind that in the Church of England no person can become a candidate, either for the order of Deacon or Priest, without producing a formal certificate of his baptism, or if that be lost, such complete and conclusive evidence of his having been duly and regularly baptized as shall thoroughly satisfy the Bishop prepared to ordain him that he has received baptism, it is unreasonable and unfair to base arguments on the supposed or imaginary absence of baptism, or of any accidental irregularity in the administration of the same, to the disparagement of Holy Orders bestowed in the Church of England.

Where forms, good and sufficient in themselves exist, which forms the laws, both of Church and State enjoin to be observed and followed, it must be taken for granted that the said forms have been properly and carefully observed, unless conclusive evidence is forthcoming absolutely to demonstrate the contrary.

Arguments which are based on the mere gratuitous supposition or fervid imagination of the persons advancing them, may be passed over without notice. Conjectures, which are nothing more, that during the past three centuries some Bishop or other may have been no fit subject for ordination by lack of that initiatory Sacrament which is the door to all the others, and that consequently his ordinations are invalid, can not be answered until specific cases in all their details are clearly brought forward. Such cases are possible, but would not be common or peculiar to the Church of England.

The case of doubtful Baptisms, or the supposed want of the actual Sacrament.

With regard to the assertion that some members

The Baptis-
mal Formular-
ies of the Scotch
Presbyterians.

of the Scotch Establishment have subsequently received Holy Orders in the Church of England, together with the collateral conjecture that such may never have been baptized, it will be sufficient to print the following form for the administration of Holy Baptism; remarking at the same time, in reference to English Nonconformists generally, that with the exception of the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Mormonites, the form matter and minister are sufficient, thank God! for the validity of the act; and, furthermore, that when so complete and excellent an order as that which is appended is still the legal form for administering this sacrament in North Britain, in the Free Kirk community, amongst the United Presbyterians, as well as for members of the Establishment, the objection in question vanishes:—

ORDER OF BAPTISME ACCORDING TO THE APPOINTED USE OF
THE KIRKE OF SCOTLAND.*

Prayer.

Almighty and everlasting God, who of thine infinite mercy and goodnesse hath promised unto us that thou wilt not only bee our God but also the God and Father of our children; wee beseech thee that as thou hast vouchsafed to call us to be partakers of this thy great mercy, in the fellowship of faith, so it may please thee to sanctifie with thy Spirit and to receive into the number of thy children this Infant whom we shall baptize

* The Order of Baptism, taken from a service book entitled "*The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, etc. Whereunto is Added Many Godly Prayers, and an Exact Kalendar for xxv years to come.*" Printed at Edinburgh, by the Heires of Andrew Hart, Anno Dom. 1635." It may be noted that in the Kalendar the following festivals, amongst others, are set down to be observed:—Purification of Mary, Annunciation, St. George, Christ his Ascension, Nativitie of John Baptist, Mary Magdalene, Lammas Day, St. Lawrence, Assumption of Mary, Nativitie of Mary, St. Martin, Conception of Mary, and S. Lucie.

according to thy word, to the end that hee comming to perfect age may confesse thee only the true God, and whom thou hast sent Jesus Christ, and so serve Him and be profitable unto His Church in the whole course of his life, that after his life ended, hee may be brought as a lively member of his body, unto the full fruition of thy joyes in the Heaven, where thy Son our Saviour Christ reigneth world without end, in whose Name wee pray as hee hath taught us, Saying, *Our Father, who art, etc.*

When all have prayed in this sort, the Minister requyareth the Child's Name, which known, he saith:—

“N. I baptize thee, In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

And as he speaketh these words, hee taketh water in his hand and layeth it upon the Child's forehead, which done hee giveth thanks, as followeth, etc.

And if, after all, a certain margin has to be left for possible cases, which might occur now and then as well in the Roman Catholic or Greek Church, as the English, of persons who have never been validly baptized becoming Bishops and consecrating others, it does not follow that their episcopal acts would be invalid. The “baptism of desire” is universally admitted to be sufficient for salvation when the baptism of water cannot be obtained. And it is held by the great majority at least of later Roman theologians, as it seems to have been by St. Thomas, that an implicit desire, like an implicit faith, suffices for those who are invincibly ignorant of the Christian Revelation, and makes them Christians in the sight of God. In the case we are supposing the desire would be implicit, only because the person never doubted that he had really been baptized; for if he knew that he had not, he would certainly have taken care to receive the Sacrament. He is therefore a

Christian in the sight of God, as he is in his own estimation, and that of the Church, and it seems to follow that he is capable of receiving other Sacraments, as Ordination, though of course he would not be capable of receiving this validly had he knowingly neglected baptism, or should he neglect to supply the omission on becoming aware of it.

De Lugo replies to an objection against the sufficiency of implicit faith, that a Jew or Heathen who is ignorant of Christ but has supernatural faith in One God, might be saved, by saying that this is true; but “that *such a man must not be called no Christian*, because though he has not been visibly received into the Church, yet formally and inwardly he has had one faith with the Church and *is reckoned among Christians in the sight of God.*” (De Lugo, *De Fid.* xii. 4.) Suarez lays down the same principle and replies to the argument, *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*, that no one can be saved who does not enter the Church of Christ either in fact, or in solemn purpose and desire; and that while only the baptized are actually within the Church yet others may be saved, “for the solemn purpose of baptism or of entering the Church suffices.” (Suarez, *De Fide*, xii. 4.) These writers are contemplating immediately of course the case of those who are invincibly ignorant of parts of the Christian Revelation, or the whole of it; but their argument would obviously cover the case of those who are invincibly ignorant, not of the law of baptism, but of the fact that they have themselves, through no fault of their own, never been rightly baptized. It is only natural to believe that in the exceptional case of such persons being ordained, God would, in mercy to

others as well as to themselves, supply their lack of outward baptism by a special grace, and thus make them capable of receiving, and therefore of administering the Sacrament of Order. This is no argument for laxity of practice or excuse for the sin of those who may have been guilty of it. But it is a consolation for those who may have unwittingly been affected by it. And it is a consolation equally needed for such rare and exceptional cases in every part of the Church. That they should have been frequent enough anywhere to permanently affect the line of succession, is however an improbability so great as to be morally inconceivable.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE OFFICE OF CONSECRATOR AND ASSISTANT
CONSECRATOR.

THE authorities already quoted in this treatise will have sufficed to show, first, how considerable have been the developments and changes made from time to time in the rites of Ordination; and, secondly, that the greatest variety of forms at present exists in certain Eastern communities, which are either in visible communion with the See of Rome, or the orders of which—conferred by rites differing very materially from those of the “Roman Pontifical,” are, nevertheless, held to be good and valid by Roman Catholic doctors.

I. To one marked peculiarity of the Latin Form for consecrating a Bishop-elect, special attention must be now briefly directed.

The Latin Form peculiar as regards its directions to the assistant bishops.

The act of consecration as set forth in the “Roman Pontifical,” *De Consecratione electi in Episcopum*, stands thus:—

“*Deinde Consecrator et assistentes episcopi ambabus manibus caput consecrandi tangunt, DICENTES: Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*”*

1. As far as the author of this treatise is aware, no Anglican writer has noticed the peculiarity of this venerable rite, which consists in the fact of each

* *Pontificale Romanum*, p. 95. Mechliniæ, 1862.

Bishop saying the words of consecration, contemporaneously with the joint imposition of hands. The rationale of this very important direction is that all the Bishops engaged thus, both by word and deed, become consecrators ; and, though acting only as assistants, nevertheless openly by word of mouth as well as by official action, in the face of the Church, actively and actually co-operate in the deed being done. The wisdom of the Latin Church in having originated this custom must be greatly respected.

2. Here it should be stated that the text of the existing Pontifical is in this particular probably five hundred years old. This rubric was no doubt framed towards the close of the period of the Schoolmen, when the words, “*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*,” were, after much discussion, first formally determined to be the words by which in the Latin Church the grace of the episcopate was bestowed.

3. In an old codex of that age, given by Catalani, in the Appendix to his great “*Commentary on the Pontifical*,” where he discourses upon the consecration of a Bishop, *Ex manuscripto Codice Pontificali Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ*, Num. 4744, the text of the old service runs as follows :—

“*Quâ finitâ surgunt omnes, et Consecrator ante altare stante, vultu ad chorum verso, et Electo ante illum genua flectente, Consecrator aperit codicem Evangeliorum, ponens illum super caput et spatulas consecrandi ; et duo Episcopi sustinent illum, littere ex parte inferiori manente. Tunc Ordinator ponit utramque manum super caput illius, dicens : Accipe Spiritum Sanctum : idemque faciunt et dicunt omnes Episcopi, tam tenentes librum quam alii, successive. Quo facto, illo genua flectente, dicit Ordinator media voce, et etiam alii Episcopi submissâ voce cum ipso. Oratio, etc.*”

4. From a second ancient MS. preserved at

Rome, of the same, or probably of an earlier age, Catalani gives a form in which the "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum" is altogether wanting. The act of consecration stands thus: Two Bishops place the Book of the Gospels on the neck of the elect, while the consecrator and other bishops impose their hands on his head, and the consecrator *alone* says the Prayer of Consecration. In this form there follows a consecration of the head and hands, by unction, with the delivery of a Pastoral staff and a Ring.

5. In the British Museum* is preserved a folio black letter edition of the "Roman Pontifical," probably the earliest, rarest, and most perfect copy known. It is prefaced by an Epistle to Cardinal Raphael Riario and James de Lucii "episcopus Caiacensis"—Cajazzo. It is supposed by those competent to form a correct judgment, to have been printed about, or soon after, the year 1475. In it the particular Rubric under consideration stands thus:—

"*Deinde Consecrator et assistentes Episcopi ambabus manibus caput consecrandi tangunt, dicentes:*

"*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*

"*Quo facto Consecrator media voce stans deposita mitra, dicit orationem.*"

Catalani points out, however, that Morinus, Martene, and Jueninus† freely admit that the use of the words, "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum," is comparatively modern, as they could not fail to do. Francis Hallier,

* Press Mark, f. 14—1274.

† "Quoad illa verba *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, quæ Consecrator et Episcopi assistentes in ipsâ manuum impositione pronuntiant, recens est ceremonia, solisque Latinis (si Morino, Martino, et Juenino credimus) nota." Catalani.—*Pontificale Romanum, Comment. in Cons. Episc.* Paris, 1850.

Vide pp. 63, 64; also p. 87, note [*] of this treatise.

a learned Gallican doctor, holds the same opinion. He maintains likewise, that the form in bestowing the episcopal character is now two-fold. First, by the use of the words "Receive the Holy Ghost;" and secondly, by the formula, "Receive power to govern the Church and to declare the Gospel," or its equivalent. Most recent Latin doctors, following the schoolmen, however, now agree that according to the "Roman Pontifical," and since ancient forms have been amplified and changed, the grace of the episcopate is certainly given by the "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum." Others, in order to cover ancient and Oriental forms, hold that it is bestowed at that period when, together with the imposition of hands, a specific prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost is offered by the Consecrator. Habertus allows this, because, as he points out, Christ has not instituted the form and matter of the Sacraments directly, but through the Church.*

6. In all the various ancient forms, types, and examples which have already been given in this treatise, the present custom of the Latin Church is simply unknown. This is so in the second canon of the Canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage,† in the Form given in the Apostolical Constitutions;‡ in the Gregorian Sacramentary; § in the *Mis-*

But this peculiarity is comparatively speaking recent, and not found either in the ancient rites or in the great majority of modern forms.

* A later edition of the same "Pontifical," very carefully printed, and illustrated with some rude but effective wood-cuts, was printed at Lyons in 1542. A well-preserved copy of this is likewise to be found in the British Museum. It was edited by Albert Castellan, "*Ordinis Predicatorum*," and was printed by Hector Pennet. The text of the rubric, etc., under consideration, is identical with that given above.

† *Vide* p. 67 of this treatise.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 69, 70.

§ *Liturgia Romana Vetus*. L.A. Muratorius, vol. ii. p. 439, Venice, 1747.

sale Francorum ; * in the Sarum Rite ; † in the orthodox Oriental Form ; ‡ in the service for the Consecration of a Bishop used by the Christians of St. Thomas, § as well as in the Form in use among the Nestorians. || It is so, likewise, in the Revised Ordinal of the Church of England.

It may be reasonably concluded, therefore, that, however desirable the existence of such a direction may be in all the various rites of the Church Universal, or of communities separated from the same, its general adoption in the Latin Church could not have been earlier than the fourteenth century. The custom was certainly not followed in England prior to the changes in the reign of Henry VIII., not being found either in the Sarum or the York Pontificals, ¶ and does not occur either in the Revised Ordinal, as drawn up in 1549, or as finally amended and settled in 1662.

* *Vide* pp. 71, 72 of this treatise.

† *Ibid.* pp. 57, 58.

‡ *Vide* p. 106 of this treatise.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 122, 123.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 140, 141.

¶ It is remarkable that the peculiarity in question occurs in one, and one only, of the mediæval English MSS.—viz., the *Exeter Pontifical*, compiled by, or transcribed for, Bishop Lacy (A.D. 1420—1455). From the valuable reprint, edited by Mr. Ralph Barnes, and published in 1847, the following extract indicating this fact is taken :—It is found under the head “*Consecratio Episcoporum*” (pp. 95-96) ; and from it may be gathered that *both* the Assistant-Bishops were directed to lay their hands on the “*Electus*,” and to say the words “*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*,” with the Consecrator. No records of the consecration of a Bishop are to be found in the Exeter Archives however. This MS. therefore was, in all probability, never used for conferring the episcopal character. After the beginning of the Litany—“*Tunc surgat Consecrator et ad consecrandum se vertens, baculum pastorem in manu sinistra tenens, dicat primo : Ut hunc presentem electum, etc. Iterum accumbat, cantoribus prosequentibus letaniam usque in finem ; quâ finitâ surgant omnes preter electum : et duo Episcopi ponant et teneant Evangeliorum Codicem super cervicem ejus et inter scapulas clausum. Consecratore imponente utrum-*

7. Remarkable as this may seem, it becomes more remarkable when it is remembered that Bishops Barlow, Scory, Hodgkins, and Coverdale went out of their way to imitate the Roman custom at Archbishop Parker's consecration; and this, at the cost of transgressing the actual and legal rule of the Church of England. For whereas the "Form for the Ordination of Bishops, 1549-1552," then used, directed the consecrating-Archbishop *only* to say the words, "Take the Holy Ghost," while the rubric ordered that he and the "Bishops present shall lay their hands upon the head of the elect Bishop," the Records of Parker's consecration plainly and unequivocally declare that, on that important occasion, even as all four together imposed their hands, so *all four*, actually and audibly, said the words, "Take the Holy Ghost."* The "formidable impediments"† existing at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign may have induced the five Canon lawyers, in conjunction with Dr. Bullingham, to have recommended to the Bishops who officiated such a wise and politic deviation from the actual rubric of the Form, as should guarantee the valid consecration of Archbishop Parker against doubt, question or cavil.

II. These facts and opinions having been set forth, it is now necessary to point out, as Martene allows all the chief Latin writers before him to have maintained,‡—that, in the consecration of a Bishop-elect

Assistant consecrating bishops are co-operators as maintained both by Western and Eastern doctors.

que manum super caput electi dicens ei: Accipe Spiritum Sanctum. Idemque faciant et dicant omnes Episcopi astantes. Quo finito incipiat Consecrator ympnum, Veni Creator Spiritus, etc."

* *Vide* pp. 176-182, of this treatise, as well as Appendix No. XII.

† *Ibid.* pp. 148, 149.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 168, note (†).

the assistants *co-operate* in the act. For if they do not co-operate, it follows that the gifts and graces of the episcopate are conveyed by one only, the Consecrator properly so-called ; so that should he by any accident, either be incompetent to take his part, or fail to do the work assigned to him, the Bishop-elect would not receive regular and valid consecration, and so confusion, doubt, and perplexity might arise. One of the leading reasons assigned for the presence of at least three Bishops * at every episcopal consecration, therefore, is that the two co-operating assistants should be there to supply any defects on the part of the chief bishop, and together to do the work ; another reason is that the three bishops may, each and all, publicly, by their presence as officers of the Church, authorize the new consecration in their own name and on behalf of the faithful ; and a third has given rise to the well-known maxim, “ A three-fold cord is not easily broken.”

To put the question technically, there appear to be seven distinct and independent, though duly-harmonized, reasons for holding that in the consecration of a bishop-elect, the assistant co-operating prelates are each and both present, as—

* *Vide* Con. Nic. Canon IV.—Con. Arelatensis, Can. I. et II.—Catalani, *Commentarius*, tom i. tit. xiii., pp. 289-383.—Ancient Canons enjoined that the ordination of a Bishop should be performed by at least three Bishops ; though of course the validity of the ordination by one Bishop is undisputed. Three Bishops, one of whom should be the chief Bishop or Metropolitan, were always enjoined and expected to attend, as Cardinal Cajetan maintains. *Vide* also Cardinal Bellarmine, *De Notis Ecclesiarum*, cap. viii., and Vasquez, *In Disputationibus*, Pars. iii., cexlviii., cap. vi.—“ As co-operators and co-consecrators, or assistant-consecrators, those are spoken of in the Ancient Canons, who, together with the chief Bishop, convey the episcopal character.”—Dr. M. J. Routh, *A MS. Note on the English Ordinal*.

- a.* Witnesses to the act.
- β.* Representatives, for the time being, of the consenting church or diocese.
- γ.* Presenting the elected-bishop.
- δ.* Authorising the consecration on the part of the metropolitan, if absent, as well as on the part of the king and of the people.
- ε.* Co-operating in the sacramental act.
- ζ.* Bestowing the character and imparting the accompanying graces.
- η.* Supplying all that may be accidentally wanting by official incompetence, or intentional or accidental neglect on the part either of the consecrator or of the other assistant.

These reasons are furthermore common to both East and West, being found in the commentators on the rites of Ordination of each portion of the Christian Family.

A distinguished Eastern theologian, after careful research and inquiry, has written to the author on this point as follows:—

*The Judgment
of Eastern
Theologians.*

(*a*) “Though with us the Patriarch or Metropolitan consecrateth primarily, yet the other Bishops touch the person consecrated, and so certainly assist not only in the public rites, but in the very act of consecration. They are there for that purpose. And this is so in accordance with the practice of the Apostles, where several, and not one only made elders; the Canons of the Orthodox Church; the rules of the Holy Fathers, and most wise Teachers, well-illuminated of the Divine Spirit.”

Another member of the Holy Eastern Church confirms this opinion:—

(*β*). “All three, or as many Bishops as are present and act, do rightly and actually consecrate the candidate. Three at least, in addition to the Metropolitan, publicly preside.

All touch the head of the elect. One, the chief, says the words openly, the others, holding the Gospels, silently or mentally. Yet all say them, as is evident from the fact that all touch, and, by touching, so openly prove their intention to consecrate."

A third, well acquainted with Western rites, writes as follows:—

(γ). In the rules of the Holy and Divine Councils our venerable customs are found. More than one Bishop always officiates now as then; frequently five or six, in order to make evident that absent Bishops, presbyters, and laity, represented by the inferior, (that is, the others than the chief Bishop,) all of whom together co-operate, are agreed that the new consecration is necessary for the extension of orthodoxy, and is for the good of the Church—all of which is openly signified by Divine deed to the people of the Lord."*

It may be reasonably and properly concluded, therefore, that, whether the assistant-Bishops say the words mentally or vocally, they are actual participators in the work of consecration. For the three Bishops are acting together, (α) by one command, (β) for one purpose, (γ) on behalf of One, and (δ) by one voice, the voice of the living Church. That voice could not be more efficient or efficacious in its results, if spoken by three than by one. For the one obviously speaks for, and on behalf of the three. Did none speak vocally the form would of course be wanting, and the valid character of the action doubtful. Furthermore, did one speak, (though by accident no true Bishop, yet reputed to be of others, and believed by himself to be,) and did

The author's
conclusion
drawn from
the facts, state-
ments and
opinions al-
ready set forth.

* MS. Letters in the possession of the author.

the other Bishops speak mentally, (which their public action shows them to do,) while all imposed hands, the consecration would be valid, for there would have been secured in the one act the presence of form, matter, and intention, though one Bishop, not knowingly, but by defect, wanted that which the others, co-operating, were specially present to supply.

Such a case, however, being imaginary and not actual, has no immediate bearing on the subject of this treatise. Yet such may have occurred in any part of the Church.

Our conclusion, therefore, with Martene as well as with the Eastern doctors, is, that the assistants in the consecration of a Bishop-elect are not simply witnesses, but actual co-operators and co-consecrators in bestowing the character of the Episcopate.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF INTENTION.

TO make valid a Sacrament,—and Holy Orders, as the Church of England maintains, is “commonly called,” and, it may be added, is rightly and properly called, a Sacrament—it is necessary that the minister of it intends, *i.e.*, has the intention,* to do what our Blessed Lord Himself enjoined, and what the Church† commissions him to perform.

Now, there are at least four modes in which a person may be conceived to have an intention in doing or performing any act:—

1. He may have an *actual*, present intention at the moment he does it.

2. He may have a *virtual* intention; in other words, he may perform, or go through the act by virtue of an actual intention which he beforetime

* The important distinction between *attention* and *intention* should be carefully noted. They have been respectively defined as follows:—1. Attention is an act of the *intellect* considering what a person is doing. 2. Intention is an act of the *will* tending to some desired end.

† On this point Bellarmine writes:—“Non est opus intendere quod facit Ecclesia Romana, sed quod facit Ecclesia vera, quæcunque illa sit; vel quod Christus instituit. Petes, quid si quis intendat facere quod aliqua ecclesia particularis et falsa, ut Genevensis, et intendat non facere quod facit Ecclesia Romana? Respondeo, etiam id sufficere. Nam qui intendit facere quod facit Ecclesia Genevensis, intendit facere quod Ecclesia Universalis. Ideo enim ille intendit facere quod facit talis Ecclesia, qui putat illam esse membrum Ecclesiæ veræ Universalis, licet fallatur in cognitione veræ Ecclesiæ: non autem tollit efficaciam sacramenti error ministri circa Ecclesiam.”—Bellarminus, *De Sacrament. in gen. lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 123.*

had ; and which, though he does not actively think of it at the time of doing the thing, still continues in effect.

3. He may have an *habitual* intention ; in other words, he may have had the intention some time previously and not have retracted it ; but yet, at the same time the intention does not continue in effect, nor can it be maintained that the act is performed in virtue of it.

4. He may have an *interpretative* intention : that is, he may be so disposed in performing the act that if he had adverted to it, he would have had such an intention.

Now, with regard to these four kinds of intention, Western theologians, both Roman and English, generally hold that neither the habitual nor the interpretative intention is sufficient to make a valid sacrament ; that the actual intention, however, is not absolutely required, but that a minister must at least have a virtual intention at the time of ministering a Sacrament, otherwise its efficacy is doubtful.

With reference to the object or aim of this intention it must be to do what our Blessed Lord Himself enjoined and what the Church commissions him to perform.

A person's intention may be directed to this object or aim in two ways, (*a*) explicitly and (*β*) implicitly.

A good Christian, in baptizing a child, would obviously have the *explicit* (*a*) intention of doing what our Blessed Lord Himself enjoined ; whereas, an Anti-pædo-Baptist, commonly called a Baptist, or some other heretic, not believing in the Church Universal, or misconceiving the true doctrine of baptism, would only have the *implicit* (*β*) intention

of doing what Christians ordinarily do and intend to effect by and through baptism; but yet such implicit intention is commonly held to be sufficient for the validity of the act.

Again, though this virtual implicit intention thus defined is held to be sufficient, it is a question which has been continually disputed for many centuries, whether, furthermore, this said intention must be (*a*) internal, or (*β*) external.

(*a*) Almost all theologians now hold that an *internal* intention is necessary: that is, that the minister must inwardly and actively intend to do what the Church commissions and enjoins him to perform. And moreover, it is commonly taught that if sufficient reasons exist for believing that, in any given case in the administration of any sacrament which impresses a character, *e.g.* Baptism, Confirmation, or Orders, the internal intention was wanting, the sacrament should be formally re-iterated with an expressed condition.

(*β*) Almost all theologians hold that it is not sufficient for ensuring the validity of a sacrament if the *external* rites be gone through, with, at the same time, a deliberate mental exclusion of doing what the Church does.*

* Below are given some of the authorities consulted for the statements and conclusions of the text of this chapter. The subject is too wide to be entered upon at great length, though full of interest and importance. It is believed, however, that the above, though brief, is a fair and faithful summary of Western opinion.

Toletus, *Instructiones Sacerd.* lib. ii. cap. 9, § 8. De Lugo, *De Sacramentis*, Disp. viii, s. 5. Cassiodorus, *De Animâ*, cap. iii. s. 3. Martinus Fornarius, *De Sacramento Ordinis*, cap. viii.—xiii. Hugo de S. Victor, *Summ. Sen. Trac.* vi. cap. 7. Salmeron, *In Paul. Apost. Epist.*, *De Intentione*, sec. 2-5, who maintains that the intention required

This technical mode of stating the question is, when duly considered, exceedingly plain and simple. It amounts to this—that when a public official stands forth to perform and complete a public ecclesiastical act, it may be reasonably and probably assumed that he intends to do what is apparently being done, and what the Church, of which he is a minister intends him to do. If he does not intend to perform the act, it is obvious that he does not do it, or at all events it is probable that he may leave undone some important detail in the act: and, that as consequently the act may not be duly and properly done, it may therefore be invalid.

With regard to the intentions of public characters who have been dead and buried for many generations, it must be held in the absence of express evidence to the contrary, that when they were formally commissioned to perform a solemn ecclesiastical act,—that, moreover, when that act was defined in all its expressive details by long usage, venerable laws, and definite ecclesiastical directions, they *did perform*, and did not intend *not to perform* it. We may reasonably and properly assume that they acted in

of the minister is sufficiently express and certain, by virtue of the words he utters in ministering the Sacraments. Vide, also, Alanus, *Dissertationes Contra Valdenses*, cap. xiii. s. 3-5. S. Bonaventuræ *Opera Omnia*, lib. ii. cap. vii. s. 8, followed mainly in the Council of Trent. Vide, likewise, Gulielmus Parisiis, *De Sacrament. Bapt.* cap. ii. (from which treatise our own xxvi. Article on the unworthiness of the minister not hindering the effect of the Sacrament, appears to have been taken.) He also discusses here the question of re-ordination after degradation. Gury, *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis*, vol. ii. 202-203. Paris, 1861. Ioannes Prideaux, *De Disciplina Ecclesiæ*, pp. 654-664. Tiguri, 1652. Martini Bonacinæ sacerdotis oblatus, *Tractatus de Sacramentis*, 4to. Mediolani: 1620, and Petrus Ledesma, *De Sacramento Ordinis*, cap. iii. sec. 9.

good faith, unless there exist distinct reasons for an opposite conclusion.

Now, in the cases of Barlow and Scory, it has been asserted that, owing to certain loose opinions which were current at the period of Parker's consecration, and which, at one period, Barlow certainly and Scory probably, shared, they could have had no such intention in conferring Holy Orders, as is needful to ensure the validity of the sacramental act.

To this it may be broadly answered, that the unworthiness of the minister hinders not the effect of the sacraments. And this is true, to a great extent, as with morals so with belief. For example, an inadequate belief regarding the efficacy of Holy Baptism on the part of the administrator, would not invalidate the sacrament, if the right form and matter were used, and (what is technically termed) the "virtual intention" had.

So with reference to Confirmation and Orders. An imperfect appreciation either of the graces bestowed through confirmation, of the dignity and office of the Episcopate, or of the true character of the Christian Priesthood, would not invalidate the sacramental act of such a person,—thus imperfectly believing,—who might respectively hold a confirmation or bestow Holy Orders. For God bountifully gives to the expectant seeker for grace, and man is but God's instrument. The Church has ever held, therefore, that the unworthiness of the minister could not interpose between the Giver and the gift; nor make foul the current by which flow the graces of the life-giving sacraments. As St. Isidore declares, with regard to the Eucharist, "He who receives is not injured, even if he who

bestows should appear unworthy: nor are the unspotted Mysteries defiled should the Priest exceed all men in sin.”* And the same principle defended by S. Augustine,† cannot but hold good with reference to Ordination. The individual, officially working is lost in his office, unless his intention be actively and deliberately bad, which is not easily imagined and cannot be assumed without distinct proof. Moreover, as regards the intention which both the Church Universal and the local Church of England enjoined Barlow and Scory to have, there can be no doubt whatsoever. The doctrine of the Church Universal regarding Holy Orders, has never varied and never can vary, and the doctrine of the Church of England was and is identically the same with that of the Church Universal, as the Preface to our Revised Ordinal so plainly maintains.‡ As is commonly held, however, the minister’s intention should be (a) an actual present intention: though (β) a virtual intention will be sufficient; and either of these, with form and matter in substantial harmony with the belief and practice of the Church Universal, will suffice to effect a valid ordination or consecration.§

No one can reasonably deny that these conditions

* S. Isidore, lib. iii. Ep. ccxli.

† Cont. Lit. Petil. i. 4, n. 5.

‡ Vide p. 5 of this treatise.

§ “Non requiritur mentalis intentio,” wrote St. Thomas Aquinas, “sed sufficit expressio intentionis per verba ab Ecclesia instituta; et ideo, si forma servatur, nec aliquid exterius dicitur quod intentionem contrariam exprimat, baptizatus est catechumenus.” In IV. Dis. vii. quæ. 1, art. 2. The same reasoning would of course apply to Ordination. Vide, also, *Summa*, pars iii. quæ. 64, art. 8:—“Alii melius dicunt, quod minister sacramenti agit in persona totius Ecclesiæ, cujus est minister; in verbis autem quæ profert, exprimitur intentio Ecclesiæ, quæ sufficit ad perfectionem sacramenti, nisi contrarium exterius exprimat ex parte ministri vel recipientis.”

were in all probability complied with both by Barlow and Scory in their public official acts. They may have held—it is not proved that they did hold—erroneous opinions regarding the sacraments in general, and ordination in particular. They may have imperfectly comprehended, or inadequately accepted, the judgment of the teaching Church—but yet may have been far short of having a radically insufficient intention in ministering the holy sacraments. Or even if they had held that at their day, in some portions of the Christian Family, error was largely mingled with truth, or still further, that error predominated; and even if this idea had been applied to the subject of Orders, still no grounds would exist for proving their intention to have been absolutely defective. They, at all events, intended to do what Christ Himself enjoined; and if by imperfect education, or through the peculiar circumstances of the times, or because of deep-rooted prejudice, they conceived that what Christ their Lord and Master had enjoined, was in some particulars not identical with what the Church ordered to be done, the mistake was of course on their part, and could not affect their acts done in the name of the Church: otherwise it would follow, as the Vaudois abroad, and the followers of Wickliffe in England erroneously maintained, that the unworthiness of the minister surely hindered the efficiency of the sacrament.

Thus, then, it is concluded that an inadequate or imperfect belief, on the part of one of God's instruments for ordaining, more especially if that inadequate belief is the result of an intellectual misconception, or other unfortunate defect, does not invalidate the act of ordination which in good faith and with a virtual intention is officially performed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ROMAN CATHOLIC TESTIMONIES TO THE VALIDITY OF
ANGLICAN ORDERS.

WHATEVER may have been the ordinary practice in the Roman Catholic Church, with regard to the re-ordination of converts from the Church of England during the last three centuries, it is clear that no decision on the subject has been arrived at of any great theological importance; because, in the two cases of Dr. Stephen Gough and Bishop John Gordon, considered at Rome, the position and claims of the Church of England were either inadequately set forth, or were not put on record at all. The Petition of Bishop Gordon, which ought to have rested on facts, was based so entirely on a fiction—the reality of the Nag's Head consecration—and that fiction is now so generally allowed to be such, that the decision given, whether considered theologically or morally, is of extremely little value.

There can be no doubt, however, that several converts to Rome have, on their own petition or request, received a second ordination. This was so in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,* and the tradition

* The cases of Edmund Campion, 1564; Cuthbert Mayne, 1570; William Rainolds, 1575; Richard Sympson, 1577; Everard Hause, 1581; Stephan Rousham, 1582; Richard [qy. ?] Bluet, 1583; John Sugar, 1602; Humphrey Leach, 1610; Francis Walsingham, 1611; John Goodman, 1621; Placidus Adland, 1660; and John Massey, 1676; are those of Anglican clergymen, duly ordained, who have been re-ordained, on joining the Roman Church.

then created has been followed not unfrequently from that period to the present day.

On the other hand, whatever may be said to the contrary by some whose strong points are not unfrequently made by strong assertions, it cannot be denied that ever since the separation a considerable number of Roman Catholics—and these, certainly not the least learned or influential of their original or adopted communion, including popes, prelates, priests, and laymen—while holding that the Church of England is in a schismatical position, owing to its want of visible union with the rest of Christendom, have, nevertheless plainly allowed that our clergy receive a valid ordination from bishops possessing a true episcopal succession ; and that the changes of the sixteenth century, whatever evils, in their judgment may have been wrought by them, did not rob the National Church of England of her ancient inheritance of the priesthood.

In truth, the question, being mainly a question of fact,* has never been otherwise than undetermined and open. Roman Catholics have chosen their

* For example, if a decision were arrived at by any body or Committee interested, after an investigation of the subject, that Anglican Orders were invalid, because Barlow had not been consecrated, or because direct and definite proof were not forthcoming of that consecration, such a decision would, it may be supposed, be founded on the amount of evidence produced in the examination of the case. Such a judgment, however, would be the reverse of final ; for as long as fresh evidence, either direct or collateral, was forthcoming, the decision might be modified, or reversed, according to the evidence produced. The question of Barlow's consecration, and, indeed, the question of the Validity of Anglican Orders, is a matter of fact : and no judgment of doctors or theologians can alter facts. In the case of Gordon, *e.g.*,—supposing the facts in his Petition to have been good and true—the decision would have been sound, just, and proper. As these, however, were false, not being facts but fictions, it follows inevitably that the judgment was valueless.

sides, *pro* and *con*, often with but little knowledge of details, and too frequently in a spirit of unnecessary partizanship; and so, two conflicting traditions, both of equal antiquity, and each of like vitality, have, consequently, existed on the subject in England amongst members of that venerable communion.*

Thus much is asserted; and here are the proofs:—

1. In the reign of Queen Mary, those clergy who had actively sided with the innovating school during her half-brother's reign, were certainly not re-ordained, but were formally confirmed in their orders, and this though they had received them by the Revised Form. In the Letter of Queen Mary, dated March 4th, 1553, to Bishop Bonner, which accompanied "Certain Articles of Enquiry with regard to the State of Religion,"† it was enjoined that for those who had not been ordained by the ancient Ordinal, "the Bishop of the diocese may supply that thing which was wanting in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister."

Proofs of the
Validity of
Anglican
Orders from
Roman Catho-
lic sources.
A.D. 1553.
Mary—Pope
Julius III—
Cardinal Pole
—Bishop Bon-
ner—Nicholas
Sanders.

2. In Bonner's "Visitation Articles for the Diocese of London," A.D. 1554, the twenty-ninth contained the following inquiry:—

"Whether any such as were ordered schismatically and

* It should not be overlooked that at the Council of Trent, though the subject of the character and position of the Anglican episcopate was brought before the Fathers assembled, they distinctly refused to pronounce the English Bishops to be no Bishops. It was declared that all Bishops duly consecrated and confirmed by the Holy See were to be had and accounted as good Bishops, but the reverse of the proposition (though for some time under consideration), was not affirmed.

† Burnet's *Records*. Part II., book ii., pp. 10-15.

contrary to the old order and custom of the Catholic Church being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary, have celebrated or said Mass ? ”

3 and 4. In the Breve of Pope Julius III. to Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, (*a*) dated March 8th, 1554,* as well as in the Commissions consequently issued by His Eminence to the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral Church, as likewise to the several English bishops, (*β*) the latter are ordered to confirm all the clergy in their respective orders : no distinction whatever being made between those who had been ordered by the Ancient Rite and by the Revised Ordinal. This may be seen from the exact terms of the Pope's Breve.

5. This policy is allowed to have been scrupulously observed and carried out, by no less important and acute a critic than Dr. Nicholas Sanders, who, in his treatise, *On the Anglican Schism*,† writes as follows :—

“ He ” [*i.e.*, Cardinal Pole, in a public instrument set forth in the name and by the authority of the Pope,] “ confirmed all Bishops which had been made in the former schism, if so be they were Catholic in their judgment of religion, as well as the six new Bishoprics which King Henry had created. And this writing, being affixed to the Statute, was published with the other decrees of that Parliament, and their minds were pacified. All which things were established and confirmed afterwards by the Letters of Pope Paul IV.”

6. Moreover, as regards the practice which, on such high ecclesiastical authority, was followed at this critical period of the history of the Church

* *Vide* Appendix, No. XV.—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. Records to Part III., book v., pp. 17, 33.

† Sanders, *De Schism. Angl.*, lib. ii., p. 350 [p. 306, Ed. A.D. 1610].

of England, it is a very remarkable fact that no single record of re-ordination, conditional * or otherwise, is to be found either in Cardinal Pole's Register at Lambeth, or in the Diocesan Registers of London, Winchester, Norwich, Rochester, Sarum, Chichester, Lincoln, and Lichfield—all of which, from the year 1553 to 1558, have been carefully searched with a view to this inquiry.†

A.D. 1553-1558. No records of re-ordinations to be found in the Registers during Queen Mary's reign.

7. From the reign of Queen Mary we pass to that of Queen Elizabeth. It is not within the scope of this treatise to discuss the respective policies of the Courts of Rome and England as then energizing; but there can be little doubt that certain political difficulties, home as well as foreign, which arose at that period, greatly complicated the ecclesiastical questions which were open. Anyhow unquestionable evidence exists, and has been published to the world, that Pope Pius IV. offered to acknowledge and sanction the whole "Book of Common Prayer," of which the Ordinal formed an important part, on condition of the Queen, Parliament and Nation admitting, as of old, a final appeal in questions doctrinal to the Holy See.‡

A.D. 1559-1603. Offer of Pope Pius IV. to acknowledge and sanction the Book of Common Prayer.

* *Vide* p. 86 of this treatise, with regard to the practice of conditional re-ordination amongst Roman Catholics.

† On the other hand, certain of Pole's Suffragans, in dealing with their episcopal opponents, appear to have manifestly exceeded the powers delegated to them by His Eminence, and not to have acted either uniformly or consistently. This was so in the case of the degradation of Ridley, Latimer, Ferrar, and Hooper.

‡ *Vide Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon*, vol. ii., cap. ii., sec. 6, p. 85, note.—Sir R. Twysden, *Hist. Vind.* cap. ix.; and especially *Pope*

8. In the succeeding reign, that of James I.,
A.D. 1608-1613. Cudsemius on the Church of England.—The Case of Dr. Benjamin Carrier. Peter Cudsemius or Cudsem, a shrewd and distinguished Roman Catholic, came to England, in the year 1608, to observe for himself the state of our Church, and the order of our Universities. After comparing them to those of some foreign countries, where the extravagances of the Calvinists had ruined both Church and nation, he bears the following testimony to the validity of our orders :—

“Concerning the state of the Calvinian sect in England, it so standeth that either it may endure long, or be changed suddenly, or in a trice. In regard of the Catholic order, there is a perpetual line of their Bishops, and the lawful succession of pastors received from the Church, for the honour whereof we used to call the English Calvinists by a milder term, not heretics . . . but schismatics.” *

9. In the year 1613, Dr. Benjamin Carrier, one of the King’s chaplains, and a preacher before the Court, a divine of some reputation both for piety and learning, being not unreasonably dissatisfied with the influential position to which the Calvinistic school in the English Church had at that period attained, and “noting the many evils and dangers which threatened this venerable Church from the violence of sectaries and the perversity of ungodly

Pius IV., and the Book of Common Prayer. By E. C. Harington, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1856.

* “Quod Calvinianæ sectæ in Angliâ statim attinet, ille ita comparatus est, ut vel admodum longo tempore durare possit, vel etiam subito et repente mutari: propter Catholicum ibidem in perpetuâ Episcoporum suorum serie, legitimaque pastorum successione ab Ecclesia acceptâ, ordinem, ob cuius honorem Anglos Calvinistas mitiore vocabulo, non hæreticos . . . sed schismaticos appellare solemus.”—P. 122. Cudsemius, *De Desperata Calvini Causa, Tractatus brevis, etc.* Moguntiæ: 1609.

men," began to despair of the authorities being ever able to cast out or silence the aggressors who were thus causing such trouble, confusion, and divisions by their false teaching; and, consequently, resolved to throw in his lot with those who had consistently refused to accede to any of the changes in religion made during the past sixty years. He, therefore, publicly joined the English Roman Catholics. In so doing he frankly maintained his belief that his ordination in the Church of England was valid and that he was truly a priest; a point which, having been discussed and maintained by him soon after the period at which the Nag's Head Fable had been first promulgated by Hollywood, attracted much attention, both from his new as well as his old friends. Carrier expressed these general sentiments and this specific conviction in a "Letter to the King" which was afterwards printed; and at the same time petitioned the Pope to be allowed to minister in the Roman Church without any further ordination. What answer was made to his petition we know not, or whether it ever reached the authorities at Rome is doubtful; for Dr. Carrier, vexed and irritated at the criticisms which his policy had produced, died in the following year, as was said by some, of a broken heart.*

10. Here will be given the names with a brief sketch of five† well-known clergymen of the

* *Vide Carrier's Letter to King James.* London: 1649. Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 517, Part v. book iii., Art. 7, and Appendix. Ellys' *Letter to Dr. L. Dumoulin, etc.*, Appendix, *On the Sacrilegious and Schismatical Action of the Church of Rome in Ordaining Anew.* London: 1680.

† In addition to the five cases set forth and considered in the text,

Church of England, living in the seventeenth century, who having joined the Church of Rome, declined to be re-ordained. Their testimony, though mainly negative, is valuable as showing that during a period of tumult and change, the old tradition acted on by Pole, in 1554, and recorded by Cudseminius in 1609, was still ably defended and regularly handed on:—

Five English Clergymen who, having joined the Church of Rome, refused to be, and were never re-ordained.

Of the converts to the Roman Catholic Church during the reigns of James I., Charles I., Charles II., though several were re-ordained, many followed Dr. Carrier in declining to be so.* Amongst these appear to have been the following:—(α) James Wadsworth, Chaplain to Redman, Bishop of Norwich, who, having left the Church of England, went to Spain in 1615, was never re-ordained because of his conviction of the validity of his Anglican ordination, as stated by Edmund Ellys, and died abroad about the year 1627. (β) Thomas Gawen, born at Marshfield, in Gloucestershire, was educated at New College, Oxford, where he became M.A. in 1632. He was Chaplain to Curle, Bishop of Winchester, and Rector of Exton, Bishopstoke, and Fawley in that diocese. He joined the Church of Rome after

which are well known, and formed the subject of frequent public comment by writers in the seventeenth century, other converts are frequently referred to by contemporary authors as having declined to be re-ordained. Amongst these are (1) William Rainolds, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, who died in 1594; (2) Dr. Thomas Vane, of Cambridge, one of King Charles I.'s chaplains; (3) James Shirley, the well-known dramatist; and (4) Ambrose Wilson, of Harlow, in Essex, a relative of Archbishop Juxon.

* *A True Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbich*, [Wisbeach]. By Dr. Bagshawe, 1601.—*Transactions Relating to the English Secular Clergy*. By John Serjeant. London: 1706.

the changes preluded by the martyrdom of King Charles and Archbishop Laud, "when troubles beset the land;" but was never re-ordained, "believing himself as good and true a priest as they" [the Roman Catholics]. He daily said the Divine Offices, and eventually died at his own house in Pall Mall, London, when the times were peaceable, on March 8th, 1683, and was buried at the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. (γ) William Rowland, a Welshman, who was Curate of St. Margaret's, Westminster, "allied himself to the Roman Catholics in the troublous days" of the Commonwealth, and, without having been re-ordained, or "without any repetition of ordering," as Ellys maintains, died in 1659, and was buried in the churchyard of his former parish, "the burial rites being gone through where he lay dead." (δ) Timothy Nourse, son of Walter Nourse, Esq., and Mary his wife, was born at Newent, in Gloucestershire, and matriculated at University College, Oxford, where he became a Fellow, Jan. 19th, 1658. He was ordained Deacon and Priest soon afterwards, and became Bursar of his College,—the affairs of which position he managed with great ability. He joined the Church of Rome in 1673, but declined to be re-ordained, yet still looked upon himself as a true priest. Certain "Discourses" from his pen were published in London in 1686, and again in 1691. He was an intimate friend of Anderson, Walker,* and Woodhead, all notable

* Dr. Obadiah Walker, as is well known, was a distinguished Reunionist. When charged with "introducing Popery" by the University authorities, he replied as follows, in his able Defence of his position and policy :—

"I cannot say that I ever altered my religion, or that my principles

members of University College, and all at one time warm supporters of the movement for Corporate Re-union between the separated churches. An interesting account of Nourse is given by Thomas Hearne the antiquary, in his well-known *MS. Collections*, (*Vide* vol. viii. folio 223; and vol. xv. folio 235.) Nourse died, lamented very sincerely by members of the Church of England, as well as by Roman Catholics, on July 21st, 1699, and was buried in the parish church of his birth-place. He bequeathed his coins and medals to the Bodleian Library, his chalice and paten to University College, Oxford; and gave a rent-charge of £50 per annum to the Bishop and Dean of Gloucester, in trust for charities to the poor of Newent for ever. (ε) Hugh Paulin Cressy or De Cressy, son of Judge Cressy, was born and baptized at Wakefield, in 1605. At the age of fourteen he went to Oxford, and, having graduated in Arts, was elected a Fellow of Merton College in 1625. He was in due course ordained Deacon and Priest, and appointed Chaplain to Lord Wentworth. Afterwards he became Chaplain, likewise to Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland, a connection of the Lees of Dytchley, Oxon, at which place Cressy spent much of his time; and where he made the acquaintance of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, who was a first cousin to Anne, Lady Lee. Through the influence of his noble friends he was appointed Canon of Windsor, but was never

do now wholly agree with those of the Church of Rome. Mr. Anderson was my governor and director, and from him in my youth I learned those principles which I have since avowed. If they were Popish I have not changed my religion: and they will not be found to be wholly agreeable with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church."

installed, and also Dean of Leighlin. He was most intimate with our great divine Dr. Henry Hammond, and is said at one time to have been promised preferment by Archbishop Laud. However, in the year 1644 he left England for the continent, and in 1646, having gone to the City of Rome, joined himself in communion with the Church there; where, being pressed to be re-ordained, he declined, and immediately returned to England. After this, owing to the increasing disorders and disasters at home, he went to Paris and published "*Exomologesis: or, An Apology for My Reconciliation to the Church of Rome.*"* This treatise, dedicated to the Carthusian Fathers of the English Convent at Nieuport in Flanders, is, in many respects, remarkable. Throughout the author maintains the essential distinction between the Church of England and the Calvinists and Lutherans, more especially with regard to Orders, on which subject he felt deeply. (*Vide* sec. ii. p. 36. Also chapters x., xi.) Afterwards, though he became a Benedictine, he was never re-ordained. The anonymous author of "*Legenda Ligneæ*," upbraids him with inconsistency, vanity, and other sins, in very coarse language.† Some years later on, Cressy wrote an "*Epistle Apologeticall to a Person of Honour*"‡ [*i.e.* to his old acquaintance Sir Edward Hyde, then Earl of Clarendon,] by whose arguments and recommendations, in conjunction with those of Dr. Hammond and the writings of Mr. Shelford, it is said that he continued to retain an unshaken belief in the validity and goodness of the Ordinations of the Church of

* Paris: 1647.

† London: 1653.

‡ London: 1674.

England, and to maintain a pleasant literary intercourse with his old associates.* After the Restoration he returned to England, and was constantly heard of at Somerset House with the Royal Family, as also at Dytechley.† He died at the residence of R. Caryl, Esq., of East Grinstead, Sussex, Aug. 10th, 1674, in the parish church of which place he was buried.

11. Here it will be well to quote an important paragraph from a small treatise by Chancellor Harington of Exeter,‡ who therein provides similar testimony, from various foreign authorities both Gallican and Italian, to the existence of a learned and influential school amongst Roman Catholics, the members of which maintained the validity of English ordinations :—

Foreign
Roman Catho-
lics who held
the English
Ordinations to
be valid.

“ ’Tis upon the same authority that I shall further allege another fact, better known, and mentioned by Father *Le Quien* himself in his work. Mr. *Goffe*, who had been of the *Church of England*, turning Catholic, was admitted into the *Oratory*; and there was a talk of making him a Priest. He had already been ordained in *England*, which occasioned a difficulty. The matter was proposed to many doctors of the *Sorbon*, who, after having examined it, declared in favour of the ordination. [H. Prideaux’s words are, “gave in their opinion that our orders were good.”] But, that affair appearing too important to be left to the decision of a few

* Vide *Letter of Sir Edward Hyde to Dr. John Earles regarding Hugh Cressy* in Clarendon’s *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 322, Oxford: 1773.

† MS. Letter of the Right Hon. Charlotte Lee, first Countess of Litchfield to Dr. Bonaventure Giffard, A.D. 1694. Lady Litchfield, one of Charles II.’s natural daughters, was a Roman Catholic, and left Bishop Giffard, of *Madura in partibus*, a legacy of £200. Cressy appears to have been a member of the Queen’s Household.

‡ *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England unbroken*. By E. C. Harington, M.A., pp. 3-6, note. London: 1852.

divines, *Rome* was consulted, which, according to her practice, enjoined the ordination, upon account that a doubt still remained for want of clearly stating the facts. This is related by *Dr. Prideaux*, who says, that he had it from a celebrated Catholic, namely, *Obadiah Walker*, who told him so, and to whom that fact was very well known, because he was at Paris when that affair was transacted. It was, therefore, at that time the prevailing opinion of the doctors of the *Sorbon*, that the ordinations of the English were valid; and why should it be thought extraordinary that I should think as those learned men did, and maintain an opinion grounded upon evident facts and solid reasons?

“But what I am going to say comes nearer our times, and is more direct to the point. In 1684 Cardinal *Casanata*, of known learning and probity, and to whom the practice of *Rome*, about the re-ordination of the English, did not probably appear sufficient to determine him, writ to the Bishop of *Castoria*, in order to know what he thought of those ordinations: ‘That great Cardinal,’ says that prelate, in a letter of the 21st of December, 1684, ‘desires to know whether the ordinations of the Bishops of England were valid. He is afraid their ordination does not come from Bishops duly ordained. I believe ’tis for very important reasons that he desires to know of me what Catholics and Protestants think of that ordination.’ That Cardinal, ’tis likely, believed that the Bishop of *Castoria*, being near England, and among the Protestants, must be very well informed of that matter. But he was mistaken. The Bishop of *Castoria* was perfectly ignorant of those facts, and did upon that subject what is done by all those who are ignorant of them; that is, he began by denying the validity of those ordinations. It was with such a prejudice that he writ at first to Cardinal *Casanata*, but without giving his thoughts decisively. In the meantime, to be better informed, he consulted two learned friends, whom he thought might be more acquainted with the matter than he was, and who really were so; and the opinion of both of them was contrary to his. The first was *Mr. Arnaud*, whose learning is well known, and to whom the Jesuits themselves

do not deny the justice of having been one of the most learned writers of his age. The other was the celebrated *Dr. Snellaerts*, at that time Professor of History at *Louvain*, whose judicious Commentary upon St. John's Gospel has been newly published. The letter of *Mr. Arnaud* to the Bishop of *Castoria* is dated February 4th, 1615. He does not at all hesitate about the fact, and looks upon the *Lambeth ordination as undeniable*. 'My Lord,' says he to that Prelate, 'I have seen your last letter to *Dr. Snellaerts*; but give me leave to tell you, that the *fact*, viz., that the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's time were consecrated by true Bishops, appears to me undeniable, whatever Sanders and other controversialists have said to the contrary.'

"Dr. Snellaerts, who being Professor of History, had probably studied that matter more to the bottom, did also treat it much more largely in the letters he writ to the Bishop of *Castoria*, whose objections gave him occasion to search into that question. He observes, in the first place, as *Mr. Arnaud* does, that *the fact is out of dispute*. Afterwards, he confutes at large the objections of the Bishop of *Castoria*, and says, among other things, that the testimony of *Sanders*, and the rest, in this present case, is of no weight. After having confirmed this at large, he comes to the last objection of the Bishop of *Castoria*, and maintains, that the form made use of in King Edward's Ritual contains all that is necessary for ordination; and he does not doubt that such a ritual would be sufficient, if it was used by the Catholic Church. This is a decision of the whole question; since a ritual which is sufficient in the Catholic Church may be sufficient in any other.

"'Tis no surprising thing that, in imitation of those learned men, the illustrious *Mr. Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, should have acknowledged the Validity of the English ordinations, as it appears by his letter to Father *Mabillon*.

"But this is not all. *Mr. Bossuet* did not only acknowledge then the Validity of the English ordinations, but also *never changed his opinion upon that head*. In 1699 the late *Mr. Mrcella*, Curate of *St. Jaques du Haut-Pas* at Paris, in company

with a Priest of the Oratory, now Chantor of the Church of *Montferrand*, making a visit to the Bishop of *Meaux*, and the conversation falling upon the Church of England, that Prelate fetching a great sigh, told them, that ‘if God would give the English grace to renounce their errors and their schism, their clergy would only want to be reconciled to the Church, and rehabilitated;’ and he added, that he ‘had said as much before the King.’

“But here is a stronger one still. The R. F. *de Riberolles*, who before he was Abbot of *St. Genevieve*, and Superior-General of his Congregation, lived a long time with Mr. *Bossuet* as superior of his seminary, and had his entire confidence a great many years, while he was continually about him, certifies by a declaration, which shall be inserted in the Appendix, that he had the honour to hear that Prelate frequently say, that if the Episcopal succession in England under the government of Cromwell was well proved,—which he had not sufficiently examined,—*there was no difficulty about the Validity of the English ordinations, and that their Bishops and Priests were as truly ordained as ours.* These two declarations, much later than the history of the *Variations*, and the advice given to Mr. *Le Grand*, show that the Bishop of *Meaux* did always persist in the same opinion which he entertained when he wrote to Father *Mabillon*,—*that he had no difficulty about the ordinations in the time of Queen Elizabeth*; and what is more essential, that, notwithstanding the pretended suppression of the Sacrifice and Priesthood among the English, he always looked upon King *Edward’s Ritual* as containing whatever is necessary and sufficient for the validity of ordination, since he had no difficulty about the ordinations made in the time of Edward and Elizabeth.”

The record of a tradition amongst learned Roman Catholics, both English and Foreign, that our ordinations are good and valid, having thus been brought down to the seventeenth century, will be continued to the present day in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

SINCE the ecclesiastical changes of the sixteenth century, no Archbishop of Canterbury has made so strong a mark and left so important an impress on the Church of England, or has served her cause so well and efficiently, as our far-sighted statesman and noble martyr, William Laud.* By the labours of a life-time, as well as by his death, he successfully prevented the National Church becoming a mere Erastian sect. Stemming the torrent of Calvinistic impiety and the dangerous license of a democratic irreligion, at once illogical and vulgar, he preserved for later generations that Divine organization which had been set up in the seventh century by St. Augustine, England's apostle.

In his lifetime, and mainly owing to his great influence, the Re-union school of the time of the Stuarts was created and consolidated: so that, in conjunction with other great prelates, he succeeded in changing the attitude of cold indifference or active opposition with which the Court of Rome had for

* There can be little doubt that the well-conceived and able policy of Archbishop Laud won for him the universal admiration of Christendom. It is on this ground, in all probability, that he was offered a Cardinal's Hat. None could have offered him that dignity without holding the Validity of his Orders. It may be added that, had Laud been a Roman Catholic he would have been surely canonized within twenty years of his noble and most edifying martyrdom.

nearly a century regarded the Reformed Church of England, to one of sincere interest in her position, and of anxious, if unexpressed, solicitude for a new policy on either side.

1. That this was so, is evident from the recorded judgments of the Papal representatives who visited England at this period. Gregory Panzani,* a secular priest, and Father Leander,† were sent by the Holy See, first with the view of healing the grave differences which, having arisen, were spreading so widely in the English Roman Catholic body;‡ and, secondly, as Pope Urban VIII. expressly declared, to report accurately of the state of religion in the old Established Church. In the Reports which were despatched to Rome, they each bore faithful testimony to the extended influence of the Laudian school, and appeared personally anxious to effect the second important object for which their respective missions had been conceived and arranged.§

A.D. 1634-1645
Envoys from
Rome. Gre-
gory Panzani.
Father Leander.

What was reported by Father Leander with regard to the state of the Church of England has already been given; what Panzani saw, can be gathered from his, so-called, "Memoirs." It is impossible to doubt that, with regard to our Orders, they each

* *Vide pp. 83, 84, note [*] of this Treatise.*

† *Panzani's Memoirs, giving an Account of his Agency in England in 1634, 1635, and 1636; translated from the Italian original, and now first published; with an Introduction and Supplement, etc.—Birmingham: 1793.*

‡ The differences arose mainly (1) with regard to the necessity of a bishop, and (2) the needful action in reference to the Oath of Supremacy introduced in the time of King James I.

§ *The Pope's Nuncio.* By William Prynne. 4to. 1643. *The Popish Royal Favourite.* By William Prynne. 4to. 1643.

believed in their validity, and were instructed to do their best towards promoting a Corporate Re-union of the separated Churches.*

2. That which may be gathered regarding Anglican Orders from the records of Panzani's and Leander's missions, can be found set forth with singular clearness and much ability by the renowned Sancta Clara, Father Christopher Davenport, D.D. This last named distinguished religious, in commenting on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England,† has fully expressed the sentiments, not of himself alone, but of a considerable school amongst his brethren, as to a conviction of their validity. Translated into English, his comment on that Article which relates to Ordination, is given at length in the text, with the Latin original in a footnote below:—

A. D. 1640-1646.
Father Chris-
topher Daven-
port (Sancta
Clara) on
the Revised
English Or-
dinal.

* "In this Service, [that of the Church of England] it must be allowed when it came to be regularly organized there was a decency and a dignity, well adapted to the sedate and philosophic character of the English people. The churches were the same, *the orders of the hierarchy remained the same*, and, what was calculated to conciliate the multitude, the communion table was placed where the altar stood, music was retained, all the old festivals with their eves, were observed; the dress of the officiating clergy only was changed to a less gaudy and garish vesture. The use of the English language also, when the first impression was effaced, greatly contributed to attach the people to it, as did the admission of the laity to the cup."—Introduction, p. 17.—See also, pp. 135, 136, 139, 153, 156, 162, 163, 164, 165, 173, 187, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 246, 248, etc. *Vide*, likewise, Clarendon's *State Papers*, *in loco*, in three volumes. Oxford: 1773.

† *The Articles of the Anglican Church Paraphrastically Considered and Explained*. By Christopher Davenport, D.D. Reprinted and edited by F. G. Lee, D.C.L. London: 1865.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by the authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering; neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King *Edward* unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

EXPLANATION.—This Article refers us to the Pontifical compiled under Edward VI.

At the ordination of Bishops, the words in that ceremonial are: “Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands; for God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and soberness.”

The Archbishop pronounces these words at the same time, with the imposition of hands by several Bishops, which being

“ARTICULUS XXXVI.—*De Episcoporum, et Ministrorum Consecratione.*

“Libellus de consecratione Archiepiscoporum, et Episcoporum, et ordinatione Presbyterorum, et Diaconorum editus nuper temporibus Edwardi VI. et auctoritate Parliamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad ejusmodi consecrationem et ordinationem necessaria continet: et nihil habet quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum, aut impium: itaque quicumque juxta ritus illius libri consecrati, aut ordinati sunt, ab anno secundo prædicti Regis Edwardi usque ad hoc tempus, aut in posterum juxta eosdem ritus consecrabuntur, aut ordinabuntur, rite atque ordinate [in some editions “ordine” for “ordinate,”] atque legitime statuimus esse et fore consecratos et ordinatos.

“PARAPHRASIS.—Hic Articulus nos remittit ad Pontificale sub Edwardo VI. compactum.

“De ordinatione Episcoporum verba in ceremoniali illo sunt: *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, et memento suscitare gratiam Dei, quæ est in te per impositionem manuum, quia Deus non nobis dedit Spiritum timoris, sed potestatis et sobrietatis.*

“Hæc verba simul cum impositione manuum à pluribus Episcopis facta,

done, he gives into the hands of the person to be consecrated a Bible with suitable words: so that the form is, "Take the Holy Ghost," etc. The matter is the imposition of hands; let the more learned judge whether it be right to declare their consecration void on this account, especially since Vasquez and others think that the imposition of hands and those words are sufficient, *jure divino*, for the essence of the ordination of a Bishop, as may be seen from the writings of Vasquez, p. iii., disp., 240, num. 58. Conink, *De Ord.*, disp. xx., dub. 7, num. 58, at length treats of the question, and proves it from the Council of Trent; nor does Arcudius dissent from this opinion, (*De Sacr. Ord.*) because of the authority of Scripture, which makes mention of these two points alone, and most frequently. He also, in the same place, shows that in the Greek Church the delivery of the instruments is not necessary absolutely, nor the forms connected with them.

His judgment is the same respecting the physical and material unction in the Sacrament of Order, whether with respect to Bishops or Priests; for it is not essential, according to him; moreover, in the Greek Church, as Arcudius argues, it never has been used, because St. Chrysostom,

pronuntiat Archiepiscopus: quibus peractis tradit in manus consecrandi Biblia, cum verbis accommodatis: adeo ut forma sit, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, etc. materia, impositio manuum, judicent doctiores an hanc eorum consecrationem ex hoc capite irritam definiri fas sit, præsertim, cum. Vasq. et alii putent impositionem manuum, et illa verba sufficere quantum est de jure divino, ad essentiam ordinationis Episcopalis: ut videre est, p. 3, disp. 240, num. 58. Conink *De Ordine*, disp. 20, dub. 7, num. 58, fuse, et probat ex Trid.; nec dissentit Arcudius *De Sacramento Ordinis*, propter authoritatem Scripturæ, quæ horum duorum sæpius et solum mentionem facit, ubi etiam fuse ostendi in Ecclesia Græca traditiones instrumentorum non esse necessarias simpliciter, nec formas illis applicatas.

"Idem judicium facit de unctione physica et materiali in Sacramento Ordinis, sive quoad Episcopos vel sacerdotes; non enim est essentialis, secundum eum: immo in Ecclesia Græca nunquam fuit adhibita, ut contendit Arcudius; quia Chrys. in Digressionem Moralem 2, Orat. in 1, ad Timoth., faciens distinctionem inter sacerdotes Veteris et Novæ Legis, dicit priores unctos fuisse. Dionys. etiam, licet accuratissimus in ceremoniis

(*Digress. Mor. 2, Orat. in 1 ad Timoth.,*) distinguishing between the priests of the Old and the New Law, says that the former were anointed. St. Dionysius, again, though most accurate in describing ceremonies, says not a word respecting unction; and when some Greek Fathers mention unction, he understands them to mean spiritual unction.

With respect to Priests the form is, "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments; in the Name of the Father," etc. Then the Gospels [Bible] are given into the candidate's hand, and the Bishop says: "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments in this congregation."

Christ, indeed, first gave power over the true Body of Christ, afterwards over His mystical Body, as is plain in Holy Writ; the Doctor well declares (4 dist., 24), and this is the practice of the Church, as is plain in the Pontifical. Some Doctors hold—(as in qu. 37, dub. 2, sup.) St. Thomas, after Bellarmine; the very learned Kellison (whose debtor I am on many grounds)—that in the Ordination of Priests, that second

describendis, nec verbum habet de unctione, quando vero aliqui Græci Patres, de unctione mentionem faciunt, de spirituali eos intelligit.

"De Presbyteris forma est, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remisieris peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueris retenta sunt, et fidelis verbi divini, et sanctorum Sacramentorum ejus dispensator, in Nomine Patris, etc.* Postea traduntur Evangelia, et dicit: *Accipe potestatem prædicandi Dei Verbum, sanctorumque Sacramentorum administrandi in hac congregatione.*

"Christus quidem primo potestatem dedit super Corpus Christi verum, postea super mysticum, ut patet in sacro textu, et optime declarat Doctor 4, dist. 24, sic etiam practicat Ecclesia, ut patet in Pontificali. Aliqui Doct. tenet, ut q. 37, dub. 2, in supplementum D. Th. post Bellarm. notavit doctissimus Kellis. (cui multam tribuo, et ex multis titulis debeo) quod in ordinatione sacerdotum, illa secunda potestas super corpus mysticum, per potestatem remittendi et ligandi, solum sit explicativa seu declarativa potestatis ante traditæ, et non esse aliquam novam potestatem de novo collatam, sic aliqui Thomistæ, ut patet apud Capeol. 4, d. 19, quæst. 1, quod meliori jure alii putant dici in hac nostratum forma,

power over the mystical Body, by the power of loosing and binding, is only explicative or declarative of the power given before, and is not any new power given afresh. So say some of the Thomists, as appears from Capreol (4, d. 19, qu. 1,) which others with more justice think is said of the form in use in this country, namely, that in the former words that is only explained which is subsequently given, because in the following words power is given *in all the Sacraments*, as is expressly added in that form, and therefore in the Sacrament of Penance, which was implied by the former words, where, too, I doubt not but that the power of offering sacrifice is understood, because power is given over Christ's true Body; but by divine right there is no consecration except in Sacrifice, as is the almost unanimous consent of the Doctors: and Christ Himself, by giving the power of consecrating, gave at the same time that of sacrificing, as appears in the narrative of the Last Supper.

I know that the Puritans say that in this form of theirs the power of sacrificing is purposely expunged, as being superstitious. But I am not writing against them, because in truth they destroy the whole form. I merely explain the Article in a favourable sense, and the rather because I find that the more

scilicet in prioribus verbis, solum explicari, quod postea traditur, quia *super omnia Sacramenta*, potestas confertur in verbis sequentibus, ut directe ibi astruitur, ergo etiam super Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ, quod in prioribus verbis insinuabatur; ubi etiam intelligi non dubito, potestatem sacrificandi, quia datur potestas super Corpus Christi verum, de jure verò divino non fit consecratio nisi in Sacrificio, ut fere unanimis est consensus Doctorum, et Christus ipse dando potestatem consecrandi, dedit insimul sacrificandi, ut patet in ultima Cœna.

"Scio Puritanos dicere, in hac eorum forma ex proposito expungi potestatem Sacrificandi ut superstitiosam. Sed non contra illos ago, quia vere destruunt totam formam: benigne solum expono Articulum, et eo plus quo video celebriores Protestantium Doctores, ut superius ostendi, Sacerdotus et Sacrificia agnoscere. Peccant saltem in omni sententia non observando formam ab Ecclesia Latina demandatam, ut cum Soto tenent Doctores; ut etiam videre est apud Petigianis in 4, de Baptismo, et Doctorem, 4, dist. 8, quia est *de necessitate Ministri*, ut loquitur Doctor, id est præcepti in Ecclesia Latina. Fusè etiam de hoc agit Doctor, d. 3, q. 2.

distinguished Doctors of the Protestants, as I have shown above, acknowledge Priests and a Sacrifice. At least they err according to every opinion, by not observing the form commanded by the Latin Church, as Soto holds with the Doctors, as appears also from *Petigianis De Bapt.* 4, and from the Doctor, 4, dist. 8, because the form is *de necessitate Ministri*, as the Doctor says, that is, necessary by precept in the Latin Church. The Doctor treats on this at length, too, d. 3, q. 2.

But the question is, Is that form sufficient for conferring the Priesthood? It seems (I do not assert it, still less do I hold to the opinion), that, according to some, it might be answered affirmatively from Innocent IV. (*De Sacra. non iter. Cap. Presbyt.*) where it is said, "With regard to the Apostolic Ritual, we find that they used to impose hands on those who were to be ordained, and prayed over them. Nor do we find any other form observed by them. Whence we believe, that unless forms had been subsequently invented, it would suffice for the ordainer to say, "Be thou a Priest," or equivalent words; but, in subsequent times, the Church ordained the forms which are now observed. It is, therefore, his opinion, and a constant one with the doctors, that the substance of the form in all ordination, is not absolutely in

"Sed an illa forma sufficiat ad Sacerdotium. Videtur (non asserendo, minus adhærendo) responderi posse secundum aliquos, quod sic, ex Innocentius IV. in Cap. Presbyt. de Sacramentis non iterandis, ubi dicit: *De ritu Apostolico invenitur, quod manus imponebant ordinandis, et quod orationem fundebant super eos. Aliam autem formam non invenimus ab eis servatam. Unde credimus, quod nisi essent formæ postea inventæ, sufficeret ordinatori dicere "Sis Sacerdos," vel alia æquipollentia, sed subsequentibus temporibus formas, quæ servantur, Ecclesia ordinavit. Ipsius ergo, et constans est Doctorum sententia, substantiam formæ in omni ordinatione, non esse præcisè in cortice verborum, sed sensu: modo igitur fiat verbis æquipollentibus, ut loquitur Innoc. non dubito sufficere et valere: Non enim verba, sed rem opinor spectari oportere: ut Arcudius ubi suprâ. Et Trid. videtur favere, sess. 23, c. 4, ubi ait: Sacram ordinationem verbis et signis exterioribus perfici. Ubi non determinat verba vel signa. Multi utique Doctores non improbabiler existimant, nec verba, nec symbola externa, id est, nec formam vel materiam à Christo determinate esse assignata, sed ab Ecclesia assignanda. Solum igitur Christo ordinatum est secundum hanc sententiam, quod ordinatio fiat aliquibus verbis et*

the mere husk of the words, but in their sense ; if only then it be done in equivalent words, as Innocent says, "I have no doubt but that it is sufficient and effectual. For I think that it is needful to look not at the words, but at the matter ;" as says Arcudius, *ubi supra*. And the Council of Trent seems to favour the opinion, sess. 23, cap. 4, where it says that holy order "is performed [*perficitur*] by words and outward signs," where it does not specify the words or the signs. Many Doctors too, not improbably think that neither words nor outward symbols, that is, neither the form nor matter, were determinately prescribed by Christ, but were to be prescribed by the Church. According to this opinion, therefore, Christ only appointed that ordination should be conferred with some form of words and symbols ; and from this it follows *a fortiori*, that equivalent words are wholly sufficient, because words prescribed by the Church can much more readily be slightly changed than if they had been prescribed by Christ. So that the Greeks use this form : "The grace of God, which always strengthens things that are weak, and supplies what are fitting, makes or promotes N. venerable sub-deacon to be a deacon, venerable deacon to be a priest, priest most beloved by God to be a

symbolis. Et hinc à fortiori sequitur, verba æquipollentia omnino sufficere, quia multo facilius, verba ab Ecclesia, quam si à Christo assignentur, modo in sensu et re convenient, aliquantulum mutari possint. Unde Græci hac forma utuntur: *Divina gratia, quæ semper infirma sanat et quæ decent supplet, creat seu promovet N. venerabilem Subdiaconum in Diaconum, venerabilem Diaconum in Presbyterum, Deo amabilissimum Presbyterum in Episcopum*. Ubi patet eos rite ordinari, quia substantiam habent. Idem plane aliis videtur, sine assertione esse judicium de forma Nostratum, quia potestatem sacrificandi et absolvendi involvunt, nisi aliò detorquere malint, sicut Puritani fecerunt, et à Nostris optime excepti sunt.

"Quod si hoc durum videatur aliquibus nostrum, attendant ad illud Doctoris, 4, d. 8, q. 2, §. Ex hoc patet: *Est dictum minus discretum, asserere, quod necesse est in quolibet Sacramento scire præcisè, quæ verba sunt de forma, ad hoc, ut aliquis conferat Sacramentum*. Istud enim manifestè falsum est, non solum in Eucharistia, sed etiam in Baptismo, et Pœnitentia et Sacramento Ordinis, forte enim nullus est qui sciât pro certo, nec Episcopus, nec Ordinatus, quæ sint præcisè verba ordinationis in Sacerdote: Et tamen non est dicendum. Quod nullus est ordinatus in

bishop." Where it is plain that they differ from the form of the Latins; no one, however, denies that they are rightly ordained, because they have the substance. The same appears to others to be the right conclusion respecting the form used in this country, because it includes the power of sacrificing and absolving, unless men choose to twist the meaning another way, as the Puritans have done, and have been well censured by writers on our side.

But if this should seem hard to some on our side, let them consider the opinion of the Doctor, 4, d. 8, qu. 2. § *Ex hoc patet*. "It is an imprudent affirmation, to assert that it is necessary in every Sacrament to know precisely what words constitute the form, to the end that any one should confer the Sacrament. For that is manifestly false, not only in the Eucharist, but also in Baptism, Penance, and the Sacrament of Order. Possibly there is no one whether Bishop or Candidate for Orders, who knows for certain, what are precisely the words of ordination for a Priest. And yet it must not be said that no one is ordained for a Priest in the Church. In like manner different persons use different words in conferring the Sacrament of Penance, nor is it certain respecting any precise words, which they may be, yet it is not to be said that no one is absolved in the Church."

Sacerdotum in Ecclesia. Consimiliter diversi utuntur diversis verbis in conferendo Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ: nec est certum de aliquibus verbis præcis, quæ sint illa, non tamen dicendum est, quod nullus absolvatur in Ecclesia.

"Unde illustrissimus Scholiator dicit, licet certæ essent formæ in Sacramentis, tamen quælibet verba earum formarum non sunt adeo certa et determinata, quum alia, sufficiant.

"Quod autem additur in ceremoniali, quod Presbyteri præsentibus etiam imponant manus in capita ordinandorum, fuit expresse ordinatum in 4, Carth. cap. 3, hoc tamen non observatur à Græcis, licet semper in Ecclesia Latina propter auctoritatem Pauli ad Tim. 4. *Noli negligere gratiam quæ data est tibi cum impositione manuum Presbyterii.* Sic etiam loquitur Trid. sess. 14, can. 3, secus vero est in ordinatione Diaconi, ut habetur in Carthag. c. 4.

"De Diaconis forma est: *Accipe potestatem, et officium Diaconi in Ecclesia Dei tibi commissa exercendi.* In Nomine Patris, etc. Postea in traditione Bibliorum dicit: *Accipe potestatem legendi Evangelium in*

Whence the celebrated Schoolman says, "Though there be fixed forms in the Sacraments, nevertheless all the words of those forms are not so fixed and determined, since others may suffice."

The part which is added in the Ceremonial, that the Priests who are present also lay their hands on the heads of those who are to be ordained, was expressly ordered by the fourth Council of Carthage, cap. 3; this however, is not observed by the Greeks, though it always is in the Latin Church on the authority of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 4; "Neglect not the gift which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." So too speaks the Council of Trent, sess. 14, can. 3; in the ordination of a Deacon however, the rule is different, *Conc. Carth. c. 4*.

In ordaining Deacons the form is "Take thou authority to execute the office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee. In the Name of the Father, etc." Then in giving to each of them the Sacred Books the officiant says, "Take thou authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God, and to preach the same, if thou be thereunto ordinarily commanded."

To many it seems that nothing essential is here omitted, according to the declaration either of Florence or Trent, for the reasons assigned before. The imposition of hands is essential, by the consent of nearly all writers, which is in this office duly observed, for together with the pronouncing the form of the Gospels two are given in this rite, which some

Ecclesia Dei, et idem prædicandi, si ad illud præstandum ordinariè vocatus fueris.

"Multis videtur nullum essenziale hic prætermitti, secundum declarationem Florentini vel Trident. propter rationes superius assignatas. Impositio manuum omnium fere consensu est essentialis, quæ hic recte observatur, quia simul cum probatione formæ tradunt etiam hic Evangelium, quod aliqui Theologi putant essenziale: sed ut recte Arcudius de Sacramento Ordinis (qui melius omnibus aliis hæc ad fundum examinavit) traditio instrumentorum est potius determinatio materiæ quàm ipsa materia, et sic intelligi debet Florent. secundum eum, quando specificat traditionem materiæ ad singulos ordines.

theologians consider essential, but as Arcudius rightly observes, *De Sacr. Ordinis* (who has examined this matter to the bottom better than all others), the delivery of the instruments is rather the determination of the matter than the matter itself, and the Council of Florence should be understood in this sense, according to him, when it specifies the delivery of the matter for each order.

I will add here a beautiful saying of the Doctor, much to the point, 4, d. 8, qu. 2, § *Quod ergo erit consilium*: "It is not safe for any one to esteem himself highly skilled on account of his knowledge, and to say, I choose to use precisely such and such words for the consecration; but it is more secure to say simply, I wish to utter such and such words with that intention, with which Christ appointed that they should be uttered; and those things which by Christ's institution are essential to the form, I say as essential to the form, and what is instituted for the sake of reverence, I say for the sake of reverence." Such are his words: would that the framers of the Articles had considered, with the same humility as the Doctor, the forms of the Sacraments as the gravity of the matter deserves, they would not then so easily, *from too great opinion of their own skill*, in any way, though it may be (according to opinions which are tolerated) not substantially, have changed or mutilated the forms used in the Church.

I do not then examine the other points respecting the succession of Bishops or Ministers (it has been treated at

"Addam hic opportunè pulcherrimum dictum Doctoris 4, d. 8, qu. 2, §. *Quod ergo erit consilium*: *Non est tutum alicui se reputare valde peritum de scientia sua, et dicere, volo uti præcisè istis verbis pro consecratione sed securior est simplicitas, volo ista verba proferre sub ea intentione, sub qua Christus instituit ea esse proferenda, et quæ ex Christi institutione sunt de forma, dico ut de forma, et quæ ad reverentiam, ad reverentiam. Hæc ille: utinam conditores Articulorum eadem qua Doctor humilitate Sacramentorum formas pro rei gravitate perpendissent, non adeo facile formas in Ecclesia usitatas experitiæ suæ nimia reputatione; ullo modo immutassent, vel detruncassent, licet forte (secundum opiniones toleratas) non substantialiter.*

"Ergo alia capita non examino de successione Episcoporum vel Minis-

length and skilfully by others), but only the bare words of the Article, whether that is, in point of form and matter, (if nothing else hinder,) the Ordination be validly performed.

3. The Case of Dr. Gough, in conjunction with those of Bishop Gordon and Sir Harry Trelawney, in each of which certain authorities at Rome pronounced some kind of judgment regarding Anglican Orders, will be considered in the next chapter.

4. On the subject under consideration, Peter Walsh, the well-known Franciscan diplomatist, an able Roman Catholic theologian of the seventeenth century, remarks as follows in the Preface to his "History of the Irish Remonstrance":*—

"In that place where I seem to be too severe on Matthew Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, under Queen Elizabeth, you must not persuade yourself I do at all reflect upon his ordination, as if indeed that had been not only uncanonical or unlawful, but really void and null, or (as the schoolmen speak) invalid. Were I to deliver my opinion of this matter, or were it my purpose to speak thereof, I would certainly hold myself obliged in conscience, (for anything I know yet,) to concur with them who doubt not the ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Protestant Church of England, to be (at least) valid. And yet I have read all whatever hath been to the contrary objected by Roman Catholic writers, whether against the matter or form, or want of power in the first consecrators, by reason of their schism and heresy, or of their being deposed formerly from their

trorum (ab aliis fusè et doctè peractum est) sed solum ipsa verba Articuli, an scilicet in formæ et materiæ (si nihil aliud obstat) valide fiat Ordinatio."

* *The History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary, or Irish Remonstrance, so graciously received by His Majesty, anno 1661, etc.* By Father Peter Walsh, of the Order of St. Francis, Professor of Divinity. Folio. London: 1674.

sees, etc. But I have withal observed nothing of truth alleged by the objectors, which might in the least persuade any man who is acquainted with the known divinity or doctrine of our present school (besides what *Richardus Armachanus* long since writ,) and with the annals of our Roman Church; unless peradventure he would turn so frantic at the same, as to question even the validity also of our own ordination in the said Roman Church, on pretence, forsooth, either of the form of the Sacrament altered at the pleasure of men, or succession of Bishops interrupted by so many schisms; or of Stephen VII. condemning all the ordinations of his predecessor Formosus, and John IX. rescinding all the acts of that Stephen, and then Sergius III. rescinding all the acts of the said John IX., and the former ordinations of Formosus. Upon occasion of which horrible hurly-burly of ordinations, ex-ordinations, and super-ordinations, an author of that time, called Auxilius (A.S. 908) writ an excellent book, intituled, *De Ordinationibus, Ex-ordinationibus et Super-ordinationibus Romanorum Pontificum, et Ordinatorum ab eis Ex-ordinationibus et Super-ordinationibus.*" ("To the Reader," p. xlii.)

The same writer, at a later period, reiterates the conviction here put on record in his "Preface to Four Letters," as follows:—

"I had, about twelve years since, in the Preface to my *History of the Irish Remonstrance*, publicly in print, acknowledged my opinions to be that the ordination of the Protestant Church of England is valid; meaning it undoubtedly to be so according, both to the public doctrine of the Roman Catholic Schools themselves, and the Ancient Rituals of all Catholic Churches, Latin and Greek; nay, and to those Rituals of all the Oriental Heterodox Churches too, as Morinus, a learned Oratorian, hath recorded them."

And again to the same effect, only expressing his judgment with still greater plainness:—*

* *Controversial Letters Concerning the Pope's Authority over the Whole Earth.* [By Peter Walsh.] Fo. xiii., p. 22. 4to. London: Brome

“ We do not, so far as I comprehend, deny that they be true Bishops. True Bishops they may be and are, we can admit ; but apart from the Pope, and so bad Bishops ; because with no aucthority to exercise their powers and office. They may ordain, but their subjects are bad alike, for they, too, deny Peter’s rule. Let them affirm the same, and we want no order to be conferred anon, but aucthority, which the whole of the King’s Church notoriously lacketh, but which Peter’s successor alone having, can give, from Christ.”

At this period the wide-spread influence of the Re-union school, founded by Archbishop Laud and his immediate allies, and supported with such efficient help by so many foreign churchmen, is found to be re-acting on the Roman Catholics of England. Several of their writers, having witnessed the rising again of the old National Church after the Great Rebellion, an event never anticipated by them, seemed quite disposed to adopt a policy of promoting peace and healing the unhappy divisions. Father Walsh, from the following noble sentiments, was evidently one of these. He thus writes :—

“ Meantime, instead of reproaching our several Churches with the errors of their several members, it were I think more to purpose, I am sure more charitable, to endeavour that all errors might be taken away on both sides, that by one faith and one baptism we may all serve our One Lord and God, and reunite into One Holy and Immaculate and glorious Church, free from those spots and wrinkles which our unhappy divisions have too much and too long brought upon her.” *

and Tooke, at the Gun in St. Paul’s Churchyard, 1674.—*Vide*, also, H. Prideaux, *On the Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*, p. 45. 4to. London : 1688 ; in which the passage previously quoted is given at length.

* *The Controversial Letters on the Grand Controversy*. [By Peter Walsh] Letters I. and II., p. 46. 4to. London : H. Brome and B. Tooke. 1673.

5. Abraham Woodhead, of University College, Oxford, a distinguished theologian and controversial writer, matriculated A.D. 1624, became Fellow of his College in 1633, received Holy Orders, passed a course of Divinity, was Proctor in 1641, and a warm supporter of the Catholic and Re-union School in the Church of England. He was ejected from his Fellowship by the Puritan usurpers during the Commonwealth, but restored in 1660. Later in life he joined the Church of Rome. His Treatise on "Ancient Church Government," in which he altogether coincides with the sentiments of the Franciscan, Walsh, shows his conviction that the question in dispute between England and Rome had reference, not to orders, but to jurisdiction—not to the character of the Prayer Book and Ordinal—but to the rejection by the nation of the Pope's authority. He is said by Thomas Hearne the antiquary, of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, to have ever looked upon himself as a Priest,* though he

A.D. 1624-1678.
Abraham
Woodhead,
of University
College, Ox-
ford, ordained
in the Church
of England.
Never re-or-
dained, on
principle,
though he
joined the
Church of
Rome.

* The late Roman Catholic clergyman of Lichfield, the Rev. John Kirk, informed Dr. Bliss that this statement of Hearne's is borne out by a tradition related to him by the Right Rev. Bishop Poynter. This fact is recorded in the interleaved copy of Dr. Bliss's edition of A. Wood; *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, as well as in a letter to the Author.—The following extract likewise authenticates the fact in question :—" Though Mr. Woodhead favoured the Pope and his side, and renounced his goodly plan [" place " in *Corrigenda* at end,] at Oxford, so to defend the same, yet he openly alloweth the Protestant Church [*i.e.* the Church of England] to have good Bishops, and the clergy to be true clergy; insomuch that he betook himself away from that University, after the affairs at Maudlene and his own Colledge, to retire from the growing disputaciousnesse of the times, and to avoid the importunities of some Papists that he should become an open Priest, by a new ordering of theirs, which he then, upon his turning over to them, and evermore afterwards, as we know, greatly disliked and notably declined to favour, even *usque ad mortem*." *Remarks*

left the Church in which he had been ordained, and to have frequently declined re-ordination which was pressed upon him,—statements made by Hearne in a letter to Mr. Cuthbert Constable, of Burton Constable, near Hull, dated December 9th, 1730, still, with a large number of Woodhead's MSS., in the possession of that ancient family. Woodhead, who was never re-ordained, and ministered in a private oratory or chapel, died at Hoxton, near London, on May 4th, 1678, aged 80, and was buried at Old St. Pancras Church. The above facts are taken from a MS. note of the late Rev. Dr. Philip Bliss, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford.

The learned Bishop of Meaux, Jacques Benigne Bossuet,* writes Courayer,* “whose zeal and erudition have been so long the admiration of all France, was much inclined to this, [*i.e.* the Anglican] side; and in a letter written to D. Jean Mabillon, dated the 12th of August, 1685, (the original whereof was communicated to me by D. Vincent Thuillier, a learned Benedictine of my acquaintance,) he delivers his thoughts concerning it clearly enough:—‘As to the affair of England,’ says he, ‘besides the difficulty

A.D. 1670-1688.
J. B. Bossuet,
Bishop of
Meaux, main-
tains that the
Anglican suc-
cession is unin-
terrupted.

on a *Letter to a Ladye of Rank*, etc. *With a Replication to G—— B——*, and others. 4to. By H. W., p. 17. London: Brome. 1704.

* *The Validity of the Orders of the English*. By P. F. le Courayer. Author's Preface, pp. 20-21. Oxford: 1844. “Learned Roman Catholics have thought the ordinations of the English valid before me. It was certainly the opinion of the late M. Bossuet. Rome has never had this question examined juridically, nor decided the contrary. The usage of re-ordaining, founded on doubts not yet cleared up for want of documents communicated to her, is a wise precaution, but cannot have the force of law. It is altogether to the advantage of the [Roman] Catholic Church to recognise the validity of these ordinations.” *Testimony to the Defence of Anglican Ordinations*, p. xxxiii.

with respect to the first Bishops, the authors of the schism, there is also another great one at the time of Cromwell; when it is contended that the succession of the ordination was interrupted. The English maintain the contrary; and as to the succession at the beginning of the schism, they maintain that there is no difficulty; and in this they seem to be in the right.' "

7. This opinion of the distinguished Bishop of Meaux is supported by a remarkable course of public action taken towards the close of the eighteenth century, with reference to the Ancient Church of England, which can leave no doubt that his opinion became a settled and confirmed conviction.

After King James II. had retired to St. Germain's, and had lost all well-grounded hope of regaining the ancient dominions of his forefathers, the Primate of all England and six other Bishops, who, having refused to acknowledge the Dutch intruder, were dispossessed of their sees, consulted the exiled King, (whose previous bearing and conduct towards them had not been of the most generous or paternal character,) as to whether or not they should continue the episcopal succession. Dr. George Hickes, Suffragan-Bishop of Thetford, has left on record, in his own handwriting, a careful and exact account of what happened. It may be easily imagined that some at least amongst the King's Roman Catholic allies would have discountenanced any active co-operation with the non-juring prelates of the English Church; and would have openly opposed a continuance of the episcopal succession. But when James himself called to

A.D. 1675-1701.
King James II.
Harlay, Arch-
bishop of Paris.
The English
Non-jurors.
With the judg-
ment of Pope
Innocent XII.
as to perpetu-
ating the Non-
juring succes-
sion.

mind the noble devotion of so many distinguished prelates and clergy of the Ancient Church to the person and cause of his martyred father, as well as the generous support which their successors had rendered to his royal brother, sufficient motives may easily be found for the policy he thought it right to adopt. In answer to the application of Archbishop Sancroft and others, he formally agreed to approve of the succession being perpetuated, and, in general terms, signified his judgment to that effect.

At the same time, in order fully to satisfy his conscience in the matter, he expressed his intention of consulting some of the most renowned prelates and casuists of France, before approving of the persons selected for the episcopate, and personally authorizing their actual consecration by the existing English Ordinal. Accordingly a Case was laid by the King before Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, and before Bossuet, both of whom, most earnestly and dispassionately considering the question, having consulted the Pope, Innocent XII., gave a solemn judgment, approved at Rome, that, as the Church of England was established by the laws of the kingdom, King James was under no obligation of conscience to act against it; but, on the contrary, was bound to maintain and defend it so long as those laws were in force.* Here, then, are found persons

* It may here be noticed, that in the remarkable "Declaration" issued by James II. from St. Germain's, dated April 17th, 1693, he promises, should he be received back again by the English people, to maintain the National Church as by law established, to protect the venerable prelates and respect the rights of the clergy,—a concession which it appears he had been induced to make by certain of the French Bishops, and by some Doctors of the Sorbonne, who, having thoroughly examined the question of English Orders, and the position and character of

of the highest authority and rank in the Roman Catholic Church admitting that the English communion possessed an organization which it was well and wise should be preserved intact, and by consequence—a consequence naturally and easily drawn from the facts and premises set forth,—that the Orders of the Church of England were good and valid.*

8. The Treatise of Father Courayer, Professor of Theology in the Congregation of St. Geneviève, originally published in 1723, in which that learned writer hands on the sound tradition existing amongst certain Roman Catholics to the same effect, need not be further alluded to, as it is so well-known and highly valued. Courayer died, Oct. 17th, 1766.

A.D. 1698-1776.
Father Courayer defends the validity of Anglican Orders.

9. In addition to the Roman Catholic writers already mentioned, many both in England and France carefully discussed the subject. Here on the Anglican side, Bishop Gilbert Burnet, Mr. Whitfield, Mr. Milbourne of Lynn, and

A.D. 1708-1802.
English and French theologians on Anglican Orders.

our National Communion, had become convinced that the Church might easily be re-united with the Catholic Churches of the Continent; and who had strongly recommended to the King a policy of construction and not one of destruction, as alone wise, right, and worthy of the sacred and important interests involved. It is equally remarkable that the "Declaration," published at Edinburgh, in the name of James III., by his son, A.D. 1745, contains a clause substantially identical with that quoted above:—"We solemnly promise to protect, support, and maintain the Church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, possessions, and immunities whatsoever; and We shall on all occasions bestow marks of Our Royal favour on the whole body of the clergy, but more particularly on those whose principles and practices shall best correspond with the dignity of their sacred profession."—*Vide Collection of Proclamations and Broad-sides* in the British Museum.

* *Vide* Appendix, No. XVIII. The Nonjuring Consecrations.—Bishop Hickeys's Records.

other members of the Church of England replied to those foreign authors whose publications were largely circulated in our communion, and often with effect. In France, Father Hardouin, S.J., Father Le Quien, D.D., Fennel, Dean of Laone, Dr. Peter Le Blanc, The Abbé Gervaise, Dr. Arnaud, and Canon Vivant, amongst others, entered the lists, some on one side, some on the other; rendering the subject under consideration exceedingly well-known there, and materially altering several unfavourable opinions regarding the English Church which certain historical events of the sixteenth century had not unreasonably created.*

10. In England about the same period, or some brief space of time afterwards, there were not wanting grave divines, on the same side of the wall of separation, who, having purposely examined the subject, maintained the validity, while of course they denied the irregularity of our Orders.† Amongst

Opinions of the following Roman Catholics on Anglican Orders:—
Bishop Strickland, Archbishop Murray, Bishop James Doyle, Bishop Peter Baines, Bishop Hendren.

* After that French Revolution which took place towards the close of the last century, a considerable number of exiled priests were hospitably received in various parts of England. Of these nearly thirty lived for many years at Thame, in Oxfordshire—of which place the writer's grandfather, the Rev. T. T. Lee, B.D., was Vicar from 1795 to 1841. He has often heard, on the best authority, that their feeling towards the English Church and her clergy was one of affectionate respect and brotherly interest. Though Mass was said in a temporary chapel, constructed in the house in which they lived, they frequently attended Divine Service, sitting in the choir of the old Parish Church in their soutanes; and several of them were buried in the churchyard, according to the rites of the Established Church, in which solemnities the survivors publicly took part. *Vide* Appendix, No. XXIII.

† The Rev. John Kirk, of Lichfield, the Rev. Joseph Berrington, and Bishop Hendren, have been mentioned to the author, on high and reliable authority, as having expressed similar sentiments. It might be inconvenient, and certainly would be invidious, to name living divines. A very

these were Dr. Strickland, a well-known Roman Catholic prelate, accused in his life-time of Jansenism, but revered greatly after his death for his love of truth, charity, and moderation. He died Bishop of Namur. Bishop Henry Stonor,* one of the four Vicars Apostolic in England, is also spoken of as having published a similar conviction. The same is the case of Archbishop Murray, of Dublin, and of Bishop Doyle, of Kildare; † as also of that renowned Benedictine, Dr. Peter Baines, likewise a Vicar Apostolic governing the English Roman Catholics, who is well-known to many who were personally acquainted with him, to have held the same opinion. The sentiments of Mr. Charles Butler and of the late Mr. Augustus Welby

The Rev.
Joseph Ber-
rington, Rev.
John Kirk,
Mr. Charles
Butler, Mr.
A. W. Pugin.

large number of Roman Catholic Clergy, however, are known to agree in this particular with Cardinal Pole and the others already quoted.

* I have been unable to find the passage forwarded to me, as containing the opinion on this point of Bishop Stonor, in any of the Roman Catholic serials to which I have been referred. My father's friend, Lord Camoys, the present head of the Bishop's family, to whom I applied for information concerning it, answered as follows:—"I have no knowledge that Bishop Stonor left any writings whatever. He left his library to my family, and a very valuable ecclesiastical library it is, but I never heard of his opinions, either written or spoken."

† In March, 1825, Dr. James Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, referring to the Church of England, declared before a Committee of the House of Lords: "As a Christian Church *possessing a Hierarchy and preaching the doctrines of the Gospel*, I respect it and esteem it more than any other Church in the Universe, separated from the See of Rome." Archbishop Murray, of Dublin, wrote a public *Letter to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester*, (1835,) in which the following occurs:—"A Church, like the Established Church of England, which, *having preserved all that is essential, possesses a succession of Bishops and Pastors*, can occupy common ground with our Churches, where dissenting bodies have but little hope for a better future."—*Vide Supplementary Memoir, and Twelve Letters on the Catholic Claims*. By Æneas Macdonell, Esq., pp. 14 and 17. Dublin: 1839. *Vide, also, The Union Review*. Vol. I, Article "Re-union." 1863.

Pugin, with reference to one detail of the controversy, have been already put upon record on a previous page, and, therefore, need not here be repeated. Amongst the clergy of the second order many are known to have frequently expressed a similar judgment.

11. Furthermore, that active Roman Catholic prelate, Dr. John Milner, F.S.A., sometime Bishop of Castabala, (*i.e.* from 1803-1826,) appears to have ranked himself on the same side, for he wrote as follows, regarding the Ancient Church of England and her Orders, in his celebrated "Letters to a Prebendary :"—

A.D. 1803-1826.
John Milner,
D.D., Bishop
of Castabala,
on the Catholic
character of
the English
Church, and
her orthodox
teaching con-
cerning Holy
Orders.

"With respect to the authority and constitution of the Church [of England] She claims in her Articles, not only 'the power to decree rites and ceremonies,' but also 'authority in controversies of faith.' She teaches that the Orders of her ministers have descended from the Apostles, and are appointed by God ; and that the power given to them in the ceremony of Ordination is communicated by the Holy Ghost ;* moreover that the form of Episcopacy is divine and essentially necessary to her existence. In prove of this we observe, 1st, that it is required by the Act of Uniformity (1) that no person shall be allowed to hold any living who has not received episcopal ordination : though, from the confusion which had pervaded in the kingdom for almost twenty years before the passing of this Act, this had been impracticable with respect to the generality of the officiating ministers ; (2) that the

* Note by Bishop Milner.—"The Order of Priesthood is conferred in the following words of Scripture, agreeably to the 'Roman Pontifical,' *Receive the Holy Ghost,*" etc. *Vide*, also, Notes, p. 321 on our forms of ordination ; and, as to the Sacraments in general, the foot-notes on pp. 334, 335, 339, 341. The Bishop does not appear to go further than to imply our orders to be "irregular," because our Bishops lack jurisdiction. He does not pronounce them "invalid." Of course the only question under discussion is their validity.

practice of the Church of England ever has been to admit the ordination of the [Roman] Catholic Clergy, and of others ordained by Bishops who have passed over to her Communion, but to reject that of Dissenting ministers of every class, whether natives or foreigners to whom this hath been wanting." *Letters to a Prebendary*, pp. 320-321. Derby: 1843.

12. The opinion of Mr. Ambrose De Lisle, of Garendon Park, as that of one of the most learned and respected Roman Catholic laymen of the present generation, will be read with deep interest by others than that wide circle of members of the Church of England which so truly appreciates his large-hearted and charitable labours on behalf of a corporate Re-union between the two separated communions.

Mr. A. L. M. P.
De Lisle
on the Validity
of Anglican
Orders.

He writes to the author of this treatise, at his special request, as follows:—

“Many years ago an Anglican Clergyman, who had misunderstood an expression attributed to me, challenged me in the *Leicester Journal* to disprove, if I could, the validity of Church-of-England ordinations.

“As I had never disputed their validity, and on the contrary was inclined to admit it, I at first intended to decline the challenge; but the Provincial of the Dominicans, the late Father John Wood,* urging me to undertake the discussion in print, I said to him, that I was not the man to do it, for that I saw no reason to dispute the validity of Anglican Orders. However, after some discussion, I agreed

* He is called by the late Dr. George Oliver, of Exeter, Father Ambrose Woods, S.T.M. He was elected Provincial in 1822, which office he served for twelve years. He died, November 26th, 1842, aged seventy-six. *Collections Illustrating the Catholic Religion*, p. 568. London: 1857.

to write on the subject, if the Provincial would furnish me with all the arguments in favour of his view, *i.e.* to prove the invalidity of the Anglican Orders.

“Accordingly I wrote several letters which were published in the *Leicester Journal*, and in which the whole anti-Anglican argument was most elaborately put forward. But these letters were so convincingly answered by the Anglican Clergyman who had challenged me, that I felt constrained, as an honest man, publicly to acknowledge that he had beaten me hollow, and, as I verily believed, proved his point.

“During that discussion I came to the following conclusions :—

“1. That the presumption against the fact of Bishop Barlow’s consecration in the reign of Henry VIII. were, at best, merely negative from the supposed absence of the Register ; gratuitous to serve a party purpose ; and not dreamed of till long after the time.

“2. That the Nag’s Head Story was too absurd to be entertained for a moment : one of those statements which prove too much. For, if true, it would have convicted the authors of the Anglican schism under Elizabeth of an utter absence of common tact and sense, in wilfully making themselves and their cause utterly ridiculous.

“3. That though the form instituted under Edward was an unjustifiable deviation from the common use of the whole Western Church, and therefore schismatical ; still, when it is compared with the uses of several Oriental Churches, unanimously held by Latin theolo-

gians to be valid, it appeared to me impossible to impugn the sufficiency of the Anglican Ordinal without impugning the practice and belief in regard to the Orientals of the Holy See itself.*

“All this I stated in the *Leicester Journal*, and gave it as a reason for discontinuing the controversy; but added that this conviction in no way compromised my faith as a Catholic, nor involved any approval of the Anglican schism. No Roman Catholic disputed the Orders of the Arian Bishops in olden time: no Roman Catholic in these days disputes the Orders of the Eutychian Churches in Egypt or Abyssinia: but the existence of true Orders in any separated Church must ever be a source of consolation to all true Catholics; inasmuch as it implies the existence and benefit of the Holy Sacraments as a means of grace and salvation for all those separate brethren who are in good faith; and, above all, because it constitutes an organic link for the renewal of intercommunion and a restoration of Catholic unity, when God’s good time shall arrive for healing the breaches of the spiritual Jerusalem.”

13. What Mr. De Lisle thus so plainly and frankly stated twenty-five years ago is admitted with equal frankness by Mr. Edmund S. Ffoulkes, one of the most learned of the clerical converts from the old Church

The Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, B.D., on the Validity of Anglican Orders.

* On a later occasion, Mr. De Lisle wrote to the Author on this subject, and the following sentence of his letter is published for obvious reasons:—“In making this acknowledgment of the Validity of the Orders of the Church of England, I presume to no theological authority, nor to any opposition to any formal decision of my own Church. And this I must ask you to state in my name.”

of England to the Roman communion. He thus writes in his recent very remarkable "Letter to Archbishop Manning :*

"As one of the most warmly debated points in modern times has been the power of the Popes and their true relation to the Church, who can fail to be struck with the absence of any formal assertion on their part that the terms 'Catholic' and 'Roman Catholic' are strictly convertible—with the fact that they have never striven to appropriate the term 'Catholic' pure and simple, to their own Communion, but have commonly called it themselves, and been content that it should be called by others, the Roman-Catholic Church, as being its strict and adequate title. No doubt they have never failed to assert the doctrine of their own headship by divine right over the whole Church in the strongest terms; and the teaching of all those who obey them has always been that the Catholic Church has a visible Head upon earth, under Christ, called the Pope: still all such teaching, read by the light of their own admissions respecting the Eastern Church, is seen to be but a declaration of what ought to be, not of what is: a picture of the ideal or of the primitive, not of the actually existing Church. Where, indeed, is the part of Christendom seriously purporting to call itself the Catholic Church in these days? Roman-Catholic, Anglo-Catholic, Episcopal, Orthodox, or Presbyterian, all in their degree seem influenced by some hidden spell to abstain from arrogating to themselves or attributing to each other the epithet of 'Catholic' without qualification, as it is applied to the Church in the Creed. Test existing phenomena by this theory, and the results are plain and straightforward. One of its logical results would be that the administration of the Christian Sacraments might be frequented with profit outside the pale of the Roman Communion. Is this confirmed by experience? My Lord, my own experience, which is confined to the single Communion in which you formerly bore office, that of the Church of England, says emphatically that it is:

* *The Church's Creed and the Crown's Creed, a Letter to the Most Rev. Archbishop Manning, etc.* By Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D., pp. 45, 46. 14th edition. London: 1869.

and there is no canon or ordinance that I know of forbidding me to maintain it. You have preceded me yourself in expatiating on the workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England with your accustomed eloquence, and have not hesitated to attribute to its members many graces in virtue of the Sacrament of Baptism which you allow they administer on the whole validly : but there you stop. I feel morally constrained to go further still. If I had to die for it, I could not possibly subscribe to the idea that the Sacraments to which I am admitted week after week in the Roman Communion—Confession and the Holy Eucharist, for instance—confer any graces, any privileges, essentially different from what I used to derive from those same Sacraments, frequented with the same dispositions, in the Church of England. On the contrary, I go so far as to say, that comparing one with another strictly, some of the most edifying communions that I can remember in all my life were made in the Church of England, and administered to me by some that have since submitted to be re-ordained in the Church of Rome : a ceremony, therefore, which, except as qualifying them to undertake duty there, I must consider superfluous. Assuredly, so far as the registers of my own spiritual life carry me, I have not been able to discover any greater preservatives from sin, any greater incentives to holiness, in any that I have received since : though, in saying this, I am far from intending any derogation to the latter. I frequent them regularly : I prize them exceedingly : I have no fault to find with their administration or their administrators in general. All that I was ever taught to expect from them they do for me, due allowance being made for my own shortcomings. Only I cannot possibly subscribe to the notion of my having been a stranger to their beneficial effects till I joined the Roman Communion ; and I deny that it was my faith alone that made them what they were to me before then, unless it is through my faith alone that they are what they are to me now. Holding myself that there are realities attaching to the Sacraments of an objective character, I am persuaded, and have been more and more confirmed in this conviction as I have grown older, that the Sacraments administered in the Church of England

are realities, objective realities, to the same extent as any that I could now receive at your hands : so that you yourself, therefore, consecrated the Eucharist as truly when you were Vicar of Lavington as you have ever done since. This may or may not be your own belief : but you shall be one of my foremost witnesses to its credibility, for I am far from basing it on the experiences of my own soul."

And again, in reply to some recent unfavourable remarks of Dr. Newman :—

" With these convictions, it may seem superfluous in me to add my belief that having been ordained priest in the Church of England, I am a priest still. But I desire to state this explicitly because of the disparagement lately cast upon Anglican Orders on general grounds by a great name amongst us. To the historical argument he will have nothing to say : therefore I will only remark on it, that having examined it thoroughly, I am as convinced of its tenableness as of anything of the kind in Church history. And as to the form, on which he is equally reserved, I can only say that either the Anglican Ordinals in use now or formerly must be allowed adequate, or else most of the primitive forms—to say nothing of those still used in the East—must be pronounced inadequate."—(pp. 58, 59.)

14. Another learned Roman Catholic, who was sometime a clergyman of the Church of England, and is well-known for his theological and literary ability, when discussing the probabilities of a Corporate Re-union between the separated communions, in a very remarkable and interesting publication, entitled " Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon Considered in Relation to Catholic Unity : A Letter to the Rev. Father Lockhart," * wrote as follows :—

The Rev. H. N. Oxenham, M.A., on the Validity of Anglican Orders.

" There is often much soreness felt among Angli-

* London : 1866.

cans at what they call the repudiation of their Baptism and Orders. As regards the latter point, *adhuc sub judice lis est*. By all means let the evidence be brought into court; it will be our duty to examine it, which has not yet been done, and to judge accordingly." (pp. 60, 61.)

As this short passage, valuable, however, for what it conceded, appeared to need further explanation, the correspondence which is printed in a note below*

* "MY DEAR MR. OXENHAM,—In your *Letter to Father Lockhart* there occurs, at pp. 60, 61, a passage regarding Anglican Orders, which is quoted in my forthcoming book on that subject, as showing that you are amongst those who hold that the question is one of fact, and that the case is still open. You do not, however, state what your own judgment is regarding the facts, or whether you have formed any. Will you, therefore, if you have no objection to doing so, be kind enough to explain the passage referred to, and give me your opinion in such a form as that I may embody it in the treatise in question. I am emboldened to make this request, as the opinions of several other Roman Catholics writers on the subject will be embodied in my volume.—I remain, yours sincerely,

"FREDERICK GEORGE LEE.

— "Rev. H. N. Oxenham."

"August 25th, 1869.

"MY DEAR DR. LEE,—The question of Anglican Orders did not fall within the scope of my *Letter to Father Lockhart*, and I, therefore, purposely refrained from expressing any definite opinion on a controverted point which it formed no part of my immediate purpose to discuss. My object in referring to it was simply to point out that it is with us a purely open question, which must be decided on its own merits. As, however, you ask for my personal opinion, I can have no hesitation in saying that the evidence in favour of the Anglican succession has always appeared to me morally conclusive; and the point is, of course, one that admits of moral demonstration only. The subject has been distinctly before my mind for the last sixteen years at least—since I first examined it carefully before receiving Holy Orders in the Church of England—and I have been tolerably familiar, both from reading and from conversation with Catholic divines and others, as well English as foreign, with the various successive forms into which the objection has been thrown. But I have seen no reason to change my original opinion. On the contrary, a fuller acquaintance with all the details of the arguments on either side, as it presents itself to different minds, has only confirmed me in

took place on the subject ; and the permission given by Mr. Oxenham to publish it, enables the author to range him with those distinguished members of the Roman Catholic Church who have not hesitated to admit the full force of historical facts, with all that such admission involves.

15. Another writer of the same communion, Father Henry Collins, of St. Bernard's Abbey, Leicestershire, appears to hold that English Ordinations are in all probability valid. Some years ago he translated portions of a French treatise on the subject by Canon Vivant,* who, had he been personally and directly acquainted with the facts of the case and the undoubtedly authentic documents, both civil and ecclesiastical, which exist—all proving that the greatest care was taken duly and regularly to transmit the apostolical succession—which he certainly was not, his judgment would no doubt have been in perfect

the very decided conviction that no case can be made out against the Validity of Anglican Orders which would not tend by inevitable consequence to shake the validity of every ordination—and therefore, of every Sacrament depending on ordination—administered throughout Christendom from the beginning. You are at liberty to print this letter, if you think it worth while to do so.—I remain, yours sincerely,

“Rev. Dr. Lee.”

“H. N. OXENHAM.

“Beddgelert, N. Wales. Aug. 28, 1869.

“P.S.—I only add, as it might seem disrespectful to pass over the recent utterance of so high an authority, that Dr. Newman's Letters in the *Month*, while stating (as might be expected) with admirable force and perspicuity all that can now be plausibly urged on the opposite side, appear to me thereby to prove the more clearly the utter inadequacy of that all to shake the positive argument in favour of the impugned succession, even were his reasoning not open (as I think it is) to a direct reply.”

* *The Probable Validity of Anglican Orders, etc.; to which is added Suggestions on Re-union.* By Rev. Henry Collins, M.A. London: 1860.

accordance with that of those who *have* personally examined the documents and drawn their inferences from the same.

Father Collins himself recently wrote to the author as follows :—

“My views on the question of Anglican Ordinations are that the arguments in their favour are more probable than those urged against them. I do not, however, think these arguments quite amount to moral certainty. The document attesting the ordination of Parker is by some stated to be a forgery of later date. This is one of the matters I am not clear about myself. As it still exists, it would be well for those interested in the question to have it examined by persons competent to judge of the date of MSS. and character of handwriting; also, if Barlow’s signature is put to it, whether the signature agrees with others still extant in other Registers. No doubt it would be a great advantage to Re-union if the arguments in their favour could be so cleared from doubtfulness as to make them more free from the imputations alleged against them.”*

From this it may be gathered that, if the Register of Parker be a genuine document (which fact no Roman Catholic controversialist, with any respect for his literary reputation, who had personally examined it, or who had taken the judgment of competent experts on the point, would deny),† Father

* MS. Letter from Rev. Father Collins in the author’s possession.

† Dr. Lingard, who was certainly as good and competent a judge as could be found, maintained, as has been shown, that “*there exists not the semblance of a reason for pronouncing it a forgery*,” *Vide* p. 187 of this treatise for his opinion given at length; also p. 183, note [*], for a similar, testimony from a learned Roman Catholic layman, Serjeant Bellasis; and

Collins—who mentions no other question of difficulty—would surely be found amongst those who affirm absolutely the validity of English ordinations.

From the foregoing quotations, therefore, ranging over so considerable a period, and brought down to the present day, it may be gathered that the tradition to this effect has never been altogether broken since the changes of the sixteenth century. And not only so, but, in these latter times, it has been considerably strengthened by the calm and competent judgments of strictly conscientious men, who, knowing by practical experience both sides of the question, have not hesitated to express their convictions to the same effect. It may, likewise, be further seen, that the desire for Corporate Re-union, created by Archbishop Laud on the side of the Church of England, and then responded to by Father Leander and Cardinal Barberini on behalf of the Church of Rome, still obtains amongst us; and that happily such a divine sentiment—notwithstanding the memory of penal laws once existing, which were a disgrace to the nation—is not altogether wanting amongst some of our Roman Catholic brethren likewise.

for the opinion of independent literary men, *Vide* Appendix, No. XIV., relating to Machyn's Record of Archbishop Parker's Consecration; and likewise Appendix, No. XXI., On the Gratuitous Charge of Forgery.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CASES OF CERTAIN ANGLICAN CLERGY WHO HAVE
JOINED THE CHURCH OF ROME.

SINCE the religious changes of the sixteenth century, the policy which, in the first place, was ordered to be adopted towards the Church of England, through Cardinal Pole, and was duly put into practice by the ecclesiastical authorities in Queen Mary's reign, has been materially changed. The result, as we have shown, has led to the existence in the Roman Catholic Church of two schools of opinion, one of which has denied, and the other affirmed, the Validity of our Ordinations, almost ever since that period.

For some generations afterwards, as is evident, it was considered doubtful by distant onlookers what position the old National Church of England would eventually assume. Cudseuius, who had come hither in the early part of the reign of King James I., though maintaining the Validity of our Orders, as we have seen, had no great faith in its perpetuity. And when certain events of previous reigns are considered in their barren nakedness, without reiterated gloss or rhetorical artifice, we cannot be altogether surprised at his judgment.

On the part of the Church of England, however, the foreign Protestant sects, with their allies and supporters, soon began to be looked upon with suspicion and dislike: though little was done by

the Bishops to remove the unfortunate impressions which had been created amongst foreign Catholics, through the relations which had existed for some years with the continental Lutherans and Calvinists. Even as late as the period of Charles I. a large majority of our prelates and doctors not only had done nothing towards the restoration of visible re-union with Western Christendom—then scarcely suspended for a century,—but some of the most active had not even realized the notion that such a divine work was either necessary or desirable. It is not to be wondered at, consequently, that insularity and isolation as ecclesiastical ideas were markedly popular. With the exception of Archbishop Laud and his more immediate co-adjutors, whose vision was far-sighted, the only idea of Re-union current, was harmony and peace amongst English churchmen themselves. Restored inter-communion with Rome was to the majority merely an unimagined theory or an impracticable dream. Of the great Eastern Church they neither knew nor cared anything.

On the part of the Church of Rome, prompt antagonistic action to the English Church was certainly not taken. Individuals on that side were not wanting in strong arguments and bitter; while the armoury of controversy was occasionally ransacked for unusual weapons, of which Custom had happily sanctioned the disuse, but which were sometimes brought into the battle, to the danger and discomfiture of those who had sought them out. But the chief authorities of Rome, after the Bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth had not effected what was anticipated, evidently contemplated a policy of conciliation. The political conflict was now that

which engaged the greatest attention ; for it was evidently hoped that when the nation had repudiated all ecclesiastical connection with the dangerous fanatics of the continent, a religious reaction of a Catholic character might eventually ensue.*

It is not a little remarkable that, as the old Bishops, who had declined to approve the religious changes, died off, no attempts were made to appoint others in their stead : just as when the ancient Sees were filled up by Queen Elizabeth, nothing had been done on the part of the Western Patriarch either to signify his specific disapproval of the act, or formally to declare its irregularity. So, in this particular, the old order of things continued unchanged. There were no breaks at Canterbury, or London, or Sarum. The ancient ecclesiastical machinery still regularly worked, as of old. The episcopal succession, which St. Augustine had brought hither nine centuries before, was duly and carefully handed on ; for, if our rulers of the present day have it not, it has no existence at all ; and the National Church, of which Bede and St. Cuthbert and St. Osmund were saints, has verily perished from off the face of the earth. For whatever the vigorous and expansive Anglo-Roman communion, as created and organized in 1850, may be, and its characteristics are many and marked, it is certainly not that.

It is equally remarkable, that in the main, the

* Very much was effected in this direction by the vast influence exercised through the publication of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*,—the leading principles of which gave a death-blow to the loose and erroneous opinions of those who advocated active co-operation with the Continental sectaries.

French clergy had taken so faithful and fair a view of the position of the Church of England, as we know was the case in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The opinions which at that period currently existed in France regarding our Church, notwithstanding that they must have subsequently been to some degree warped by professional controversialists, evidently laid the foundation for the state of healthy feeling by which, sixty years afterwards, a Synod of French Bishops could formally thank their learned English brother, Bishop George Bull, for his theological labours—an event of interest and note.

When, therefore, in the reign of King Charles I., one of our clergy, Dr. Stephen Gough, confused and perplexed at the disorders, rebellion, and anarchy, which existed in England; and believing that the last days of the National Church had arrived, joined himself to the Roman communion, there was nothing unreasonable in the Archbishop of Paris regarding him as a priest, or being willing to allow him, after practical preparation and with no reordination, to minister in his diocese. And so it occurred. Although, upon appeal to Rome, this policy was discountenanced, the act as recorded remains, and is of considerable value and importance with reference to the subject under consideration.

But the Case of Dr. Gough is not the only one of the kind. Nearly eight years afterwards, *i.e.* in 1704, there was a decision given at Rome, upon a petition from John Gordon, a Scotch Prelate, and ex-Bishop of Galloway. And the Case of Sir Harry Trelawney, in

Favourable
opinion of the
Church of
England enter-
tained by
foreign Catho-
lics.

A.D. 1630. The
Case of Dr.
Stephen Gough
as considered by
the Doctors of
the Sorbonne.

A.D. 1704. The
Case of Bishop
John Gordon
as pronounced
upon at Rome.

the present century, likewise demands consideration. These three cases, therefore, shall be separately and authentically stated :—

A.D. 1830. The Case of Sir Harry Trelawney as considered by Cardinal Odescalchi at Rome.

1. *The Case of Dr. Gough*.—Dr. Stephen Gough, or Goffe, a distinguished member of Merton College, Oxford, a warm ally of Archbishop Laud, and some time Chaplain to King Charles I., left the Church of England for the Church of Rome during the troubles of his royal patron's reign—holding, however, that the Ordinations he had received in the English Communion were good and valid. He is spoken of in the coarsest and most uncomplimentary manner by the anonymous Puritan, author of the “*Legenda Lignea*,” London, 1653. (chap. xxxiv. pp. 144-154.) After he had joined the Church of Rome he became a member of the Paris Oratory, but even then altogether declined to submit to re-ordination; and for some considerable time ministered as a Priest in the arch-diocese of Paris, as it is asserted, and this with the tacit consent of the Archbishop. His case,* as that of a Priest ordained irregularly by a Bishop not in communion with the

* For the details of this Case the reader should see Prideaux, *On the Validity of Anglican Orders*. 4to. London: 1688. Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, A.D. 1636, p. 494. Le Quien's *Nullité des Ordinations Anglicanes*, tome ii. p. 316. Paris: 1725, in which, however, all reference to Dr. Gough himself having declined to be re-ordained is omitted. [Whitfield of Cambridge,] *A Defence of the Ordinations and Ministry of the Church of England*. 4to. London: 1688. *An Answer to Mr. Birchley's Moderator: and a Character of some Hopeful Saints Revolted to the Church of Rome*. [The Epistle to the Reader signed D.Y.] 16mo. London: 1653. *The Case of Mr. Doctor Stephen Goffe, Priest and Chaplain to His late Majesty, as set forth and determined at the Sorbonne*, etc. By D. W. 4to. London: 1652. *A Vindication of Five Pious and Learned Discourses, By Robert Shelford of Ringsfield in Suffolk, Priest, with an*

Holy See, was brought before the doctor of the Sorbonne,* who for the space of four months gave it a very careful and impartial consideration. The facts concerning all the disputed points in the question of the Validity of Anglican ordinations, were advanced by those interested, and a true copy of the Ordination services produced, which Dr. Gough provided. The result of this investigation into the theological facts and principles in question, led to a formal decision on the part of the doctors appointed to inquire and report, by which they plainly maintained the sufficiency of the form and the Validity of our Ordinations.

They held, however, that the changes under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. ought not to have been made for several reasons :—

1. Because the old Ordinal was good and venerable, and had been in use for centuries.

2. Because there was nothing in the rites and forms of that Ordinal at variance either with the Institution of Orders by Christ, or with the teaching of the Apostolical Fathers and the Universal Church.

Appendix concerning Master Doctor Goffe. 4to. Cambridge : 1662.
Lettre Latine Anonyme sur les Ordinations Angloises. 16mo. Paris : 1668.

* "I shall further allege another fact, better known, and mentioned by Father *Le Quien* himself in his work. Mr. *Goffe* who had been of the *Church of England*, turning Catholic was admitted into the Oratory, and there was a talk of making him a Priest. He had already been ordained in *England*, which occasioned a difficulty. The matter was proposed to many Doctors of the *Sorbon*, who, after having examined it, declared in favour of the ordination."—*Harrington's Succession of Bishops in the Church of England Unbroken.* p. 3, foot note. London : 1852. The following amongst other noted Doctors of the Sorbonne, took part in this discussion and judgment concerning English orders :—*Nicholaus Le Maitre, S.T.P. Petrus Aurelius, S.T.P. Franciscus Hallier, S.T.P. Jacobus de Bourdon, S.T.P.*

3. Because the change was made in haste without sufficient consideration, and for insufficient reasons.

4. Because the change was a breach of the *Sacramentum unitatis*.

5. Because the change was made in opposition to the legitimate authority of the Holy See,—the jurisdiction of which had been long time admitted in England; and in the face of remonstrance from the same.

6. Because the sanction given to the change from a few Bishops, was given under pressure from the King, and was protested against in due form by other Bishops.

Yet that, nevertheless, the Forms as revised were good and sufficient to convey the grace of Holy Orders, and that those were true Bishops and Priests who had been ordained by the same,—irregularity not being the equivalent of invalidity, and the questions of schism and jurisdiction not being raised by either disputants in the consideration of the case, nor determined by the judgment in the same.

This judgment was received with respect and approbation by one party, and immediately acted upon by Dr. Gough with the consent of his superiors both of the diocese and community, and with the open advocacy of the Vicar-General of the archdiocese and of M. le Chanoine Damas. By another party the decision was severely criticised and condemned. Those who took this latter course maintained that the *porrectio instrumentorum*, as Pope Eugenius had taught,* was the essential form for conveying the

* The decree of Pope Eugenius IV. was as follows:—"Sextum Sacramentum est Ordinis, cujus materia est illud per cujus traditionem

sacerdotal character, and as the English avowedly had it not, so consequently had they no orders. The decision gave rise to an interesting and long-continued controversy, which seems to have led other Doctors of the Sorbonne than those engaged in the recent decision, to investigate the subject for themselves, who arrived—with but one exception, in the case of those who undertook it—at exactly the same conclusion, as their co-investigators. On an appeal to Rome by those who were dissatisfied, in which, however, it should be noted that neither Dr. Gough nor any member of the Church of England had any voice or part,—the decision was reversed under Pope Innocent X.; no reasons being given for the reversal of the decision, and only a one-sided statement* having been furnished to the Roman authorities, in which the Fable of the Nag's Head consecration by Bishop Scory formed the leading and only important portion. It is moreover asserted, that the Petition to the Roman congregation set forth that, with the English Calvinists, there was neither form nor matter in the pretended rite of ordination, and that the Priesthood had been altogether set aside and altars abolished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth—the members of whose Church were one and all said to be excommunicated;† and,

confertur ordo sicut Presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino et patenæ cum pane porrectionem: forma sacerdotii talis est, *Accipe potestatem*, etc.” “That the sixth Sacrament is that of Orders, whose matter that is, by the touching of which the Order is conferred, as the Order of Priesthood is given by offering the chalice with wine and the paten with bread to be touched by the person ordained, and the form of Priesthood is that ‘Receive thou power,’ etc.”—*Conc. Florent.*

* *Vide* Appendix to E. Ellys' *Letter to Dr. Dumoulin*.

† This statement is clearly inaccurate. It may be true that the original promoters of the Reformation, and the actual authors of the

finally, that there was no distinction, nor ever had been since the days of Henry VIII., between clergy and laity.

Now from all this is gathered the crucial and important fact that, in the judgment of a carefully selected committee of the Sorbonne—at that time, and deservedly so, the most renowned and competent theological school of Latin Christendom, was pronounced a decision plainly and unequivocally determining that English Ordinations were Valid.

This judgment appears to have been put forth after a careful consideration of known facts, and stands in marked contrast to that later decision of Pope Clement XI., which is based on the loose and untrue statements of the Episcopal Petitioner, whose Case is now to be considered.

2. *The Case of Dr. John Gordon, Bishop of Galloway.* John Gordon, a Priest of the Scottish Church, sometime Chaplain to James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II., having been appointed Bishop of Galloway, was consecrated by Dr. John Patterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, and others, in the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, on February 4th, 1688. Throwing in his lot with his royal master, he retired to St. Germain's, and afterwards joined the Roman Catholic Church. Where this took place does not appear.*

sixteenth century separation or schism from the rest of Christendom, were personally excommunicated by the Bull from Rome, but not their unborn successors either proximate or distant.

* For another version of this Case, which however differs in no important particular from that given in the text, *Vide* Appendix, No. XIX., from the pen of the Rev. Patrick Cheyne, M.A.; who also comments on the same. A third version by Dr. Elrington is also added.

On the 17th of April, 1704, however, he presented the following Petition to Pope Clement XI. through the Congregation of the Holy Office, praying His Holiness to decree that the ordination he had received from the “heretics” was null and void. This document is given entire :—

“*Beatissime Pater.*

“Joannes Clemens Gordon, Scotus, nuper Romæ ad fidem conversus, ad pedes Sanctitatis vestra humillime provolutus exponit, quemadmodum Episcopatûs gradum in patriâ obtinuerit, ritu hæreticorum utcunque consecratus. Cum autem hujusmodi consecrationem opinetur esse nullam, ob rationem huic supplici Libello annexam, et summopere desideret ex suo gradu dubio ac suspenso, ad certum statum Ecclesiasticum adscribi, Deoque et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ inservire, ideo

Supplicat reverenter Orator, ut Sanctitas vestra declarare dignetur, hujusmodi ordinationem esse illegitimam et nullam; atque secum, ut ordines sacros Catholico ritu suscipere queat, Dispensare, et Deus, etc.

“*Motivum, ob quod Anglicanorum Heterodoxorum ordinationes arbitratur Orator, cum plurimâ Catholicorum, imo et heterodoxorum parte, nullo modo validas dici posse.*

“Ut enim validæ dici possent, non dubiè duntaxat, verum certo constare oporteret, apud prætensos Episcopos Anglos residere verum Episcopatûs Characterem; legitimam illos accepisse ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ per successionem aliquam ordinationem, consecrationemque, et denique ab illis Pseudo-Episcopis^{us} adhibitum fuisse, ac etiamnum adhiberi essentialem in eorum consecrationibus, formam, materiam, intentionemque. Etenim, si quid ex tribus hisce, nimirum caractere, legitimâ consecratione, formâque, aut intentione desit, consecrationem dici nullam et invalidam cum Theologis omnibus fateri necesse est.

“Quod autem primum spectat, fatentur hæretici, illius regionis doctissimi, (utpote lumine veritatis convicti), nullam apud se ordinandi potestatem esse, quæ ab Ecclesia Romano-Catholicâ derivata in eos non sit. Id confitetur ingenuè

Bridgesius Pseudo-Episcopus Oxoniensis in Defensione Regiminis, etc., pag. 278. Ecce ejus verba: *Si fratres nostri Papistas tantum Laicos esse velint, erimus nos, et omnes Ministri nostri, meri quoque Laici. Nam quis nos ordinavit Ministros, nisi qui de eorum Ministerio fuerunt? Nisi forsan a populo Ministros fieri velint.*

“Quod ultimum negat Ministellus ille. At non est illi assentiendum pro illâ parte, quod Ministerium a Catholicis (ut præ se fert) habuerint, cum nullam successivæ ordinationis rationem afferat. Hâc autem sublatâ, nulla alia Consecrationis apud hæreticos istos extant vestigia, præter Ministerium a populo, vel Principe Laico acceptum. Itaque, si nulla legitima ordinatio Consecratioque Sacerdotalis aut Episcopalis in illos manarit, ab Orthodoxis Romano-Catholicis Episcopis; igitur et nullum characterem, nullamque habent in se Consecrationem; atque adeo hanc in alios nequeunt valide conferre. Sed ne solis hâc in re (quod hujus dubii caput est), videatur Orator hæreticorum assertionibus inniti, invaliditatem Consecrationum his argumentis ex historiâ depromptis invictè probat.

“Constat, nullum Episcopum Catholicum in schismata et veræ Fidei Abjuratione Anglicanâ ad partes transiisse hæreticorum, præter unum Antonium, Kitchin nomine, Episcopum Landaffensem, doctrinâ et scientiâ inter cæteros infirmum, qui tamen nefando muneri ordinandi a Regina Elizabetha deputatus, tantum abfuit ut id exequaretur, ut cæcum se, adeoque imposito muneri imparem simularit, facinusque detestatus, nullis minis ad id unquam adduci potuerit (ita Hardingus, in] Confutatione Apologetica, part. ii. c. 2). Id ipsum Stous, Chronologista Anglus, subinde agnovit etsi suis id Annalibus inserere, metu regiminis, non sit ausus, uti testatur nobilis vir D. Constabilis in manu-scripto proprio, pag. 13.

“Agebat quoque sub id tempus in Turri Londinensi Archiepiscopus quidam Hibernus, quem propositâ libertate et præmiis hæretici deprecabantur, ut misertus orbitatis suæ Ecclesiæ Ministros ordinaret. At vir bonus, inquit Sanderus *De Schismate*, pag. 400. *Nulla modo adduci potuit, ut*

hæreticis sacras manus imponerat, vel alieno peccato communicaret. Cum autem hæretici sua se spe cecidisse viderent, inito consilio in *Tabernam ad Caput Equi* in plateâ Cheapside, Londini, conducto die conveniunt, anno 1559, et quid agendum statuunt. Ac tandem tumultuaris opere ex præsentibus (aderant enim plures) Joannem Scoreum apostatam Religiosum, haud Episcopum, deligunt, qui ordinationis speciem perageret. Is legerat ex Reformatis Tunii cujusdam librum secundum de Ecclesiâ, cap. 4, impositionem in Ecclesiâ manuum nihil aliud olim fuisse, quam dexteræ in dexteram, amicitiae ergo, injectionem. Jubet itaque adstantes in genua procumbere, et apprehensâ cujusdam Parkeri laici dextrâ, *Eia*, inquit *Domine, Episcopo Cantuariensis, surge.*

“Pari modo aliqui ex iis, qui aderant, hoc ritu ordinavit. Ita accidisse testatus est oculatus testis Thomas Keal, [Neale] Professor linguæ Hebraicæ Oxonii, cuidam suo amico Haberlei, cum uterque Religionis causâ exul ex patriâ in Belgio degeret. Prodiit quidem, anno 1613, hoc est 54 annis post prædictum factum, liber Londini editus, cujusdam Formalistæ Angli, Francisci Masoni nomine: is prætendit, se in Archivo quodam invenisse Episcoporum successionem a Catholicis ordinatorum. Sed ab omnibus exploditur, quia nimirum sui dicti nullam probationem affert. Itaque illos constat, nullam ab Ecclesiâ verâ accepisse ordinationem validam, adeoque nec characterem ullum, ac proinde eorum ordinationes esse invalidas et nullas.

“Adde, quod licet per successionem legitimam, aliquam hæreticus quispiam Ordinationem Consecrationemque Episcopalem accepisset (quod tamen nullo argumento probatur) etiamnum eorum Ordinationem invalidæ dicendæ essent ob defectum materiæ, formæ et intentionis debitæ. Nullâ enim materiâ utuntur, nisi forte traditione Biblicorum; nulla forma legitima: imo formam Catholicorum abjicere, et commutavere in hanc. *Accipe potestatem prædicandi verbum Dei, et administrandi Sancta Ejus Sacramenta*; quæ essentialiter differt a formis Orthodoxis. Deinde, quæ intentio ab illis formari poterit, qui negant Christum aut primam Ecclesiam ullum incruentum instituisse Sacrificium? Sublato autem Sacrificio,

tollitur Sacerdos, sublato Sacerdote, tollitur Episcopus, sublato alterutro *tollitur*, ut ait S. Hieron, Dial : contra Luciferanos *Ecclesia, Fides et Evangelium*.

“ Denique constans semper in Anglia fuit praxis, ut si hæreticorum Ministrorum ad gremium revertatur Ecclesiæ, secularis instar habeatur. Unde si legatus sit Matrimonio, in eodem permaneat ; sui liber, et ad statum Ecclesiasticum transire velit, aliorum Catholicorum more ordinetur, vel si libuerit, uxorem ducat. Ergo, etc. Feriâ 5, die 17. Aprilis, 1704, in Congregatione Generali, S.R. et Universalis Inquisitionis, habita in Palatio Apostolico apud S. Petrum corum Sanctissimo D.N.D. Clemente, Divinâ Providentiâ Papa XI. ac Eminentissimis et Reverendissimis Dominis S. R. Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, in totâ Republ. Christianâ contra hæreticam pravitatem generalibus Inquisitoribus, a S. Sede Apostolicâ specialiter deputatis.

“ Lecto supradicto Memoriali Sanctissimus D. Noster Papa prædictus auditus votis eorundem Eminentissimorum, decrevit quod prædictus *Joannes Clemens Gordon*, Orator ex integro ad omnes ordines, etiam Sacros et Presbyteratûs promoveatur, et quatenus non fuerit Sacramento Confirmationis munitus, confirmetur.

“ Joseph : Bartolus, S.R. et Universalis Inquisitionis
Notarius.

“ Locus — Sigilli.”

Now, it is important, in the first place, to notice that Gordon did not, as is very commonly supposed, request that his previous consecration might be recognized, but that it might be declared null and void, so that he might receive orders *de novo* as a layman. He did not, therefore, bring before the authorities the grounds for admitting the Anglican succession, but the grounds on which he asked them to reject it. And there can be no doubt that, if his statement of the facts had been accurate, as it was presumed to be, instead of being in every particular the reverse, no other answer was possible than that

actually given in the decree of the Inquisition, directing that he should receive all the orders *ex integro*. His Petition having been given in full, shall now be briefly analysed.

Bishop Gordon begins by insisting on the obvious truism that there can be no valid ordination but what is conferred with the requisite form, matter, and intention, by a person possessing the episcopal character. He goes on to show, what is also obvious, that if the Anglican succession is a true one, it must have been derived, in the first instance, from a Roman Catholic source. And then he comes to his statement of facts. He tells us that Elizabeth could not induce a single Bishop of the old rite to act in the consecration of Parker, and that, in this dilemma he and the other Bishops-elect met at the Nag's Head Tavern, Cheapside, where they chose John Scory, an apostate monk, but not a Bishop, to go through a form of consecration. Scory ordered Parker to kneel, and taking him by the right hand, said "*Eia, Domine Episcopo Cantuariensis, surge,*" and so with the rest. Gordon adds, in proof of this, that the alleged record of Parker's consecration is spurious. The answer to this part of Gordon's statement has been given already, where we have shown the Nag's Head Fable to be a pure invention, and proved the reality of Parker's consecration.

He next argues that, even if Parker had been legitimately consecrated, the succession derived from him would be null and void from lack of the due form, matter, and intention; "For," he observes, "they (the Anglicans) use no matter but the handing of a Bible, and no legitimate form; nay, they have rejected the Catholic form and changed it into this :

‘Receive the power of preaching the Word of God, and administering His Holy Sacraments.’ And what intention can they form who deny that Christ or the Early Church instituted any unbloody sacrifice?”

The language of the last clause is not a little peculiar, but let that pass. It is clear that, if those assertions of Gordon’s were true, the conclusion he draws would inevitably follow. But every one of his assertions is false. It is not true that “there is no matter except the giving of a Bible;” for the imposition of hands, which is the essential matter of the Sacrament, has always been retained. It is not true that there is no form but, “Receive the power of preaching the Word of God and administering His Holy Sacraments;” for the form which is usually held to be essential and is certainly sufficient, “Receive the Holy Ghost,” has never been rejected. The *traditio instrumentorum* which was rejected, we have already conclusively proved to be non-essential, however edifying and appropriate a ceremony. And as to intention, it is held by the great body of theologians that it must always be assumed when the requisite ceremony is performed and no outward sign is given to the contrary. It certainly does not imply orthodox belief on the part of the minister of the Sacrament, but only that he should intend to do what the Church does or what Christ ordered to be done, whether or not his belief as to what Christ ordered is correct; *i.e.*, that he should act seriously—not in mockery; and as a moral agent—not as a mere machine. This interpretation, we may repeat, is absolutely necessary to guard the validity of ordinations throughout the whole Church.

The only other argument urged by Dr. Gordon is the custom of the Roman Church to re-ordain convert priests. But the very point in dispute is whether this practice is based on adequate grounds, and not rather, as we contend, on misconceptions about the facts. And it is thus clear that Gordon's Petition has done much to create and strengthen such misconceptions.

We now turn to the consideration of a Case which was under consideration at Rome within the last forty years. It differs in some particulars from those already cited ; but, in so differing, possesses points of peculiar interest of its own :—

3. *The Case of Sir Harry Trelawney, Baronet.*

(a) “ Sir Harry Trelawney, having been for many years a clergyman of the Church of England, became a Roman Catholic ; and, when he was afterwards residing in France and Italy, retained the style and title of a clergyman, constantly saying Mass, and performing other priestly offices, with the full knowledge and consent, if not with the approbation and license, of the French and Italian authorities ; himself believing (as he constantly asserted,) in the perfect goodness and Validity of the Ordinations in the Church of England ; and holding, consequently, that it would have been sacrilege to have repeated ordination.

“ This was the case for a considerable period of years, and many foreign Catholics were said to have been convinced of the Validity of English Orders by the ability and success with which Sir Harry defended them.

“ Later in life, however, after much persuasion, he consented to receive *conditional re-ordination* at

Rome, in order to satisfy the scruples of some of his new co-religionists there, who were not as well-informed as himself of the true facts of the case. This took place May 30th, 1830. Cardinal Odescalchi, who conditionally re-ordained him, however, was so convinced of the soundness of the position which Sir Harry had taken up, by studying a treatise on the subject in MS., written by the late Very Reverend and learned Provost of Trinity College, in Dublin, (which, in its material parts, had been translated into Italian,) that he formally represented to the Sacred College, as we know, the wisdom and importance of a complete and thorough investigation of the facts of the case ; which recommendation, however, was unhappily neglected by others whose purpose it appears to have been to regard the question as settled. Nothing came of it, as Sir Harry frequently complained just before his death. He always maintained that whenever it was the interest of the Church [of Rome] to pronounce a decree in favour of the Validity of English Orders, there were sufficient means for proving the truth of certain facts, dogmatic and other, which were at hand whenever they might be required. This statement of his matured judgment was made in 1832, two years after he had reluctantly consented to be re-ordained, and is taken from a MS. Letter of Sir Harry, in the possession of the late Sir William Lewis Salusbury Trelawney, M.P., Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Cornwall."*

Another narrative of the facts of this remarkable

* Communicated in 1851 by Colonel Jonathan Trelawney, then a surviving son of the late Rev. Sir H. Trelawney, Bart.

Case, giving certain details at greater length, has been kindly furnished to the author by Mr. De Lisle, of Garendon Park, and is here printed at length :—

(β) “The late Rev. Sir Harry Trelawney, Bart., of Trelawney, in Cornwall, was one of my most intimate friends; but I did not know him until he had been re-ordained at Rome.

“Nearly thirty years before his re-ordination, he had joined the Roman Catholic Church, being at that time in Priest’s orders in the Church of England. He was so convinced of the genuineness of his previous orders, that notwithstanding the opposition of Catholics, he acted as a Priest, never omitting the daily recitation of the divine office of the Breviary and the frequent celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. This being objected to by some of our Catholic authorities in England, he retired into France, where, either from the ignorance or connivance of those amongst whom he resided, he also constantly celebrated Mass.

“In this way he continued for many years; but, after a long period, going on a visit to Rome, he made the acquaintance of the late Cardinal Odescalchi, who was the Archbishop of an Italian See, and reputed to be a very holy man. Sir Harry told the Cardinal all his convictions, and explained his reasons for believing in the validity of Anglican Orders, and therefore, of his own priesthood. When the Cardinal had heard all he had to say, his Eminence replied that he had no idea there was so much to be adduced in favour of the Orders of the Anglican Church, and that he could quite understand Sir Harry’s strong feeling on the subject. Still he represented to Sir Harry that, as the custom

of the Roman Catholic Church from the commencement of the schism had always been to re-ordain those of the Anglican clergy who returned to her communion, it was clear that the question concerning their previous orders was a very delicate one, and one that was beset, at all events, with many grave doubts ; that, consequently, it was not right in Sir Harry to continue to say Mass without submitting to a *conditional re-ordination*.

“ Upon this Sir Harry replied to the Cardinal that from the first he had been ready to submit to a *conditional re-ordination*, but that the Catholic authorities in England would not hear of anything short of an absolute and unconditional rejection of his previous orders. The Cardinal, however, said that he took a different view of the matter, and was prepared to re-ordain Sir Harry with a tacit condition, the sacramental form, of course, remaining untouched. Sir Harry gave his full consent, and was accordingly re-ordained by the Cardinal on those conditions.

“ All this I give as being substantially what I learnt from my friend, Sir Harry Trelawney himself, and from his daughter, Miss Anne Letitia Trelawney, in 1831 ; and I must also add, that he constantly declared that in submitting to this *conditional re-ordination*, he did so, not because he in any degree doubted the perfect Validity of his previous Ordination, but to remove the scruples of Roman Catholics.”*

After a consideration of these cases, in connection with previous records of collateral facts, members of

* MS. Letter of Ambrose L. M. P. de Lisle, Esq., of Garendon Park, Leicestershire, to the author.

the Church of England may not only reasonably hope for, but may confidently anticipate, a fair and favourable decision for their own view of this important question, whenever it shall be faithfully stated by competent advocates before an impartial tribunal, seeking Truth and Peace, rather than the sectional triumph of theological partizans.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHANGES MADE IN THE ENGLISH ORDINAL, IN 1662.

EVER since the unfortunate separation of the Church of England from visible communion with the other national churches of Western Christendom, her position has been ably and persistently assailed from two opposite points of view. On the one side she has been constantly upbraided for declining any longer to listen to the voice and abide by the decisions or counsels of the Patriarchs of the West; on the other, complaints have been continually made by the originators of new sects, that the principle of appealing from the living teaching Church, either to the Bible, or to the Primitive Church, or to the Church of some previous age, has neither been honestly held nor faithfully applied. In fact, she has to some extent possessed two characters. Appearing to deny to General Councils that infallibility which every well-instructed Christian knows them to possess, she has seemed to claim for the decisions of her own assembled theologians a position and character, which the decisions of a mere national or local communion have never rightly obtained. Roman Catholics have remarked that she is a rebel preaching obedience to her followers; modern sectarians that her principle of private judgment, when adopted by themselves, has never been consistently tolerated or legally allowed. Neither of these charges are alto-

The two-fold
character of
the Church of
England.

gether untrue. At the same time, while the disadvantages of such a defensive position, open as it is to a cross fire, are obvious; its advantages are not a few. This is more especially the case, as Count De Maistre saw and remarked, with regard to the great work which has to be effected of securing in these latter days a Corporate Re-union amongst the separated parts of the One Family of Christ.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Puritan influence in England was very considerable. At the close of the sixteenth century, certain forms of this religious error had rapidly developed into unexpected and grotesque shapes—the practical evils of which certain of the English prelates had vainly endeavoured to meet. On the accession of King James, the unpleasing fanatics in question anticipated from him a general patronage and welcome favours; but even those English bishops who had previously been inclined to favour the Puritans now began to see what dangers were looming in the distance from their false principles. When, therefore, Bancroft on his knees thanked God for having sent down from North Britain such a far-sighted and illustrious monarch as that King, he only expressed the general feeling of his anxious brethren for the result of the Hampton Court Conference; and, at the same time, proved himself to be a prelate of shrewdness and good sense. Though the Independents and the Presbyterians could find details on which to disagree;* yet, when the old

Presbyterian
and Puritan in-
fluence in
England
during the
seventeenth
century.

* Presbyterians, as well as Congregationalists, were thoroughly democratic in their principles, however much they may have squabbled over unattractive details of so-called "Church Government." On some points

religious principle of authority—a principle which in previous years had been much forgotten—became that which was to act as a trumpet-call for men to take their sides in a grave and momentous struggle for religious and political truth, Puritan and Brownist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Independent, were, of course, found ranged in deliberate opposition both to the Altar and the Throne.

Contemporaneously with this, the same sectaries sorely pressed their Episcopalian opponents by theological arguments which it was not always easy or convenient to meet. Not that the arguments in themselves presented any real difficulties, but the isolated position of the Church of England made it impossible to occupy so elevated a platform as the same Church in previous times had done. The flood-gates had been opened, as had been asserted, merely to irrigate a parched-up country, and lo! the waters became dangerous and deadly in their bulk and power. One man could open such gates which not a hundred were able to close again. And so it turned out. In 1643, the Scotch Presbyterians, with their English allies in theological error, not content with toleration for themselves, strenuously opposed any religious toleration for their neighbours. In the seventeenth century of the Church's life,

they appear to have differed. One has reference to the complete *independence* of particular congregations; the other to the persons in whom legislative and judicial powers are believed to reside. Presbyterians give these powers to the elders of the congregation, acting in combination with the minister; Independents confide them to a general meeting of the male members of the sect. Of late years the term "Congregationalist" has been assumed instead of "Independent," because certain congregations have formed themselves into a confederation. The offensive democratic principle, of course, remains unchanged.

their preachers could grandiloquently talk about the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism without any idea of being regarded as imaginative, in the same breath that their fierce language against religious toleration alienated from them both Baptists as well as Independents. At the Sion College meeting of Presbyterian ministers in 1646, they were certainly not quite so lofty in their tone; otherwise, their false principles remained unchanged. How the Church's difficulties ended we know full well. After a century's interval, a second act in the great drama of Change and Innovation was played out to the people's cost. The throne was cast down, true religion abolished, and liberty circumscribed. Both King and Archbishop received a martyr's crown; and the Church of England, as far as a fanatical tyrant and his creatures could destroy it, *was* destroyed.

Overthrow of
Altar and
Crown at the
Great Rebel-
lion, A.D. 1645.

But by the favour and grace of God, as well as by inherent Divine power, it rose again. The Civil War, with all the complex sufferings it brought upon every class, was not altogether a curse. To many it was, no doubt, a blessing; for suffering purifies and elevates those who patiently endure it. The strife must have led even the thoughtless and superficial to seek after old and despised principles—the practical forgetfulness of which had entailed so great misery both on Church and nation. A common faith, to all intents and purposes, and a common principle of reverence for authority, had ranged the Roman Catholic and Church of England now side by side in the struggle. After the second Charles had been welcomed by the people and solemnly crowned, the true pastors of a scattered

Restoration of
the Church and
Monarchy.

flock came forth to govern once more. When, therefore, the Prayer Book of the National Church was to be revised and set forth anew, it was most desirable that all such difficulties as had been actually experienced during the previous century and more, should be faced and overcome. The multitudinous volumes of religious controversy against "Episcopacy," so-called, which, from Holland and Edinburgh, as well as from the London presses, had been sent forth to teach the Church Universal a new gospel—the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism—if they had not convinced the governors of the Church of England of their imputed errors, had, at all events, taught them the wisdom of making a more formal and definite distinction between the order of priest and bishop than Archbishop Cranmer and his allies had thought fit to provide in the Revised Ordinal. Hence—as this brief sketch indicates—the changes which were solemnly made.

They were as follows :—

1. *Alterations in the Service for the Ordination of Priests.*

The change we first note in the Revised Ordinal of Charles the Second's time, is the order of the prayers. Formerly the rite began with the Epistle and Gospel, followed by the hymn *Veni Creator* ; after which the Archdeacon presented the candidates to the Bishop, who notified the same to the people, and then said the Collect. In the altered Ritual the service begins with the presentation of the candidates, and the notification of the same by the Bishop to the people ; and afterwards are read the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which are

Revision of the
Book of Com-
mon Prayer.
A.D. 1661-1662.

Revision of the
Ordinal.

changed from those formerly in use. The Bishop's exhortation and questions are alike in both forms, but in that of 1662 the *Veni Creator* immediately follows these, while in the old service it was sung after the Gospel. We then come to the prayer preceding the imposition of hands, together with the formula which was altered under King Charles.

The old form of 1549 ran as follows:—"Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." In the Revised Ordinal we read thus: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

In the old service, after the delivery of the Gospels, and the chalice with the paten and bread, into the hands of the newly-ordained, the rubric directs simply that "the Creed" shall be sung, without specifying which Creed; while in the Revised Ordinal it is said that "the Nicene Creed shall be sung or said." In the earlier editions of King Edward's Ordinal the service here concludes, after the saying of the collect "Most merciful Father;" but in that of 1662 there is a direction that this is

to be followed by another, and by the "Peace" and Benediction, which are here transcribed :—

"Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with Thy most gracious favour, and further us with Thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in Thee we may glorify Thy holy Name, and finally, by Thy mercy, obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"The Peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord :

"And the Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

2. Alterations in the Service for the Ordering of Bishops.

Of the changes made in this ceremony in the Revision of 1662 (which are still fewer than in that for the ordination of Priests) the following only are of any importance, or worthy of note :

1. The Collect with which the service begins—"Almighty God, Who by Thy Son Jesus Christ didst give to Thy holy Apostles many excellent gifts, etc."—is added. The Nicene Creed is ordered to be sung after the Gospel, which was not specified in the old Ordinal. Likewise it is declared that there shall be a sermon, and that the Bishop-elect shall be "vested with his Rochet," of which—neither the sermon nor the Rochet—there is any mention in the Edwardine Office. The following question is added to those formerly put to the elected Bishop :—"Will you be faithful in ordaining, sending, or laying hands upon others?" with the answer, "I will be so, by the help of God:" and, furthermore, the formula accompanying the laying on of hands now stands as follows :—"Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office

and Work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto Thee by the imposition of our hands ; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands : for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness."

The old form of 1549 ran thus :—" Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee by imposition of hands ; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness." While the words of consecration are said over him the Bishop-elect is directed in the new ordinal to kneel upon his knees ; finally, the same collect and benediction as are appointed at the conclusion of the Ordination of Priests, are added in this service likewise, after the collect " Most Merciful Father."

It may be said again, as it frequently has been said by certain modern controversialists, that the alterations just considered were made solely because of the objections which the English Roman Catholic writers of the seventeenth century had urged against the validity of our forms. But this is to deny the evidence of undisputed historical facts, which clearly show from what quarter most of the leading objections had come.

To have imputed to those distinguished divines who assisted at the Conference arising from the King's Commission, dated Lady Day, 1661, a conviction that ever since the changes of the sixteenth century,—that is, for about a hundred and twenty years,—the forms for Ordination and Consecration

Reasons for
the Revision
of the Ordinal.

in the Church of England were inadequate and insufficient for their purpose, and consequently invalid, is an imputation at once too rash and improbable to be considered. For if the forms were insufficient, it follows directly that the Ordinations and Consecrations made, or supposed to have been made, were invalid. And it is obvious that no new forms, however superior to those previously used, or however perfect in themselves, could have repaired and rejoined the chain of succession, in which the links for more than a century were held to have been wanting. Therefore to impute such ignorance of Catholic doctrine and tradition, as well as of ordinary facts, to men like Bishops Cosin, Morley, Sanderson, and Gauden, Doctors Heylin, Pearson, Hacket, Gunning, and Sparrow, as would be involved in such a line of reasoning is to adopt a canon of criticism likely to be rudely set aside and repudiated. Many of these distinguished theologians no doubt regretted that in the Revised Ordinal there was an absence of certain words and ceremonial acts which expressed with singular clearness both the general character of the office conferred and the character imparted: in fact, Cosin, Sanderson, and Sparrow have left such opinions on record, but no indication exists that they believed the revised forms to be invalid. Any such as did so believe would have left the communion of the Church of England for some other part of the Christian Family.

The changes in question, therefore, were obviously made with a sincere desire to carry out the terms of the Commission, and the Church's needs of that particular period. The Commission ordered those appointed to undertake the work of revision

“to compare the Book of Common Prayer with the most Ancient Liturgies that had been used in the Church in the most primitive and purest times,” enjoining them “to avoid as much as possible all unnecessary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people were altogether acquainted, and had so long retained in the Church of England.” The arguments regarding the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism, to which reference has already been made, were reproduced in every variety of shape and form by some of the ablest supporters of that newly-invented system : for, at the Conference, the King with singular liberality, and the Bishops with true Christian condescension, had consented to allow the upholders of Presbyterianism to state their newly-originated case and to plead their cause.

It was highly desirable, therefore, that, in the work of revision undertaken, such additions to the Forms for Ordination and Consecration should be made, as should once for all set at rest the question whether or not Bishops were essentially superior to Presbyters in the character of their order. And this particular revision, which completely and finally closed the question, was carried out with singular skill and resolution. After the whole Book of Common Prayer had been considered and brought into that shape in which it now stands, the two Houses of both the Convocations of Canterbury and York solemnly and unanimously subscribed to, and ratified the alterations, on the 20th of December, 1661. Three months later Parliament regularly legalized the changes, when Lord Chancellor Clarendon, on behalf of the House of Lords, formally returned thanks to those Bishops and clergy who by

their care and industry had so ably completed the important work intrusted to them.

Now, if in the judgment of competent persons, not excluding Roman Catholic writers, the changes in the Ordinal then made were each and all improvements in every particular, it by no means follows from such a premiss that the Ordinal prior to its revision under consideration, was insufficient for conferring a valid ordination. That Baptism is good and valid which is administered by the river side, or in the peasant's hut, where are secured the integrity of the matter, the integrity of the form, the context of the matter with the subject, and the essential oneness of the action in combination of matter and form together. Other rites, expressive in themselves, superadded (α) for the glory of God, (β) for the greater dignity of the Sacrament, and (γ) for the instruction of the faithful, are superfluous as regards the simple validity of the act. So, likewise, in the case under consideration. Validity not being a question of degree, the additions to our Revised Ordinal in 1662, in no respect touch the question. The forms in use from the year 1549 to the last-named date, may have been—as no doubt they were—bald and bare in comparison with the rich and expressive symbolism of mediæval rites and additions; but that they, as well as the Revised Forms, were good for their purpose, in substantial agreement with the rules and customs of universal Christendom, and truly valid, it has been the Author's aim to maintain and to prove.

Alterations made did not imply, on the part of those who made them, the insufficiency of the previous forms.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS, AND SUMMARY OF THE
AUTHOR'S ARGUMENT.

BEFORE a brief summary is made of the chief arguments embodied in this treatise, it is necessary in the first instance to call special attention to the great care and regularity with which every detailed act concerning Ordination has ever been done since the religious changes of the sixteenth century.

1. The laws of the Church, duly legalized by the State,—save and except during the period of the Great Rebellion—have been continually and consistently enforced ; while an examination of any of the Episcopal Registers will abundantly show that it would be impossible in any portion of the Christian Family to have observed greater order, or to have exercised more care, in duly transmitting the graces of the priesthood and the character of the Episcopate. There is no single case in the consecration of a Bishop, in which the Canon of the First Council of Nicæa, the rule laid down by the Apostolical Constitutions, as well as by the first and second Canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage, have not been most strictly observed. In the great majority of instances at least four Bishops have taken part in the act ; sometimes as many as six or seven ; and any one who has been present at an English Consecration cannot for a moment doubt that all things are done decently

and in order. At Lambeth Palace, in the chapel of which the great majority of the Episcopal Consecrations during the past three centuries have taken place, the old traditions of the Church are carefully followed. The chapel, though restored before the present ecclesiological revival had obtained an influence, remains substantially what it is recorded to have been in times past.* The order in arranging the service is identical with what it was in Archbishop Parker's day. Precisely the same customs, even as to certain details of entrance and exit, are to the present time duly followed and observed. The traditions of the archiepiscopate of Laud, though rudely broken by the times of civil war and anarchy, were taken up and scrupulously put into practice again under Archbishop Juxon. And so they have remained until now.

With reference, moreover, to the ancient ecclesiastical machinery of the Church of England, it went on without any break or material change. The

* Mr. John Williams, the recent Roman Catholic controversialist evidently unacquainted personally with the nature of such documents, thus comments on certain details in the Register of Parker's Consecration:—"I ask, was there ever such a record of an Episcopal Consecration? Can it be matched, even were you to ransack the Episcopal archives of the whole world? Why, a very large portion is occupied with sheer puerilities! Let us analyse it. Tapestry here, red baize there; a table with a carpet and cushion in one place, a bench with carpet and cushion in another; four chairs in one spot,—one chair, with a bench, carpet, and cushion in another. A retired naval captain must surely have written it, so precise a reference being made to all points of the compass. Tapestry in E.; a table ditto. Four chairs, S. by E.; chair and bench, N.E. Then the Archbishop sails in, with his whole convoy, due W.: he goes out, and then comes in due N. The next time he leaves is by N.E, returning by the same, and at length makes his final exit W., after a rather intricate voyage."—*Letters on Anglican Orders*, Second Edition, p. 55. London: 1867.

legal documents of which specimens of various periods are provided in the Appendix,* appear substantially as they did prior to the sixteenth-century changes. The Forms for Deprivation, Degradation, etc., as well as those testifying that certain Orders have been conferred, remain, to all intents and purposes unaltered. These likewise, as may be seen from the foreign examples given in the same portion of this book, are in substantial harmony with the forms of Western Christendom.

If at any period, here and there, during times of trouble and disorder, by the power of Might and not by Right, persons have been temporarily intruded into any ecclesiastical office without legal ordination, the small number of such cases,—and they are very small indeed, even supposing that all those which are commonly assumed to be true, could be clearly proved to have been so—only go to show most conclusively what is the notorious principle, order, and common custom of our National Church. And such exceptional cases could be readily paralleled in the middle ages, as well in other parts of the Church as in England, Ireland, and Scotland, were it necessary to unearth the irregularities and proclaim the defects of our forefathers in the Faith. Such exceptions, wherever they may have occurred, only serve, however, more clearly to prove the rule.

2. The three “Tables of Consecrations” which follow this chapter will no doubt have been referred to during the perusal of previous pages, as they serve to illustrate much of what has been already

* *Vide* Appendix, No. XXII.

set forth. (a) The First Table shows at a glance, how unquestionably the Apostolical succession was duly transmitted to Archbishop Parker. Even supposing that the names of the three consecrators of Barlow, here given on Mr. Haddan's authority, are inaccurate: it is quite certain that Archbishop Cranmer with at least two other Bishops effected his consecration; for none of his contemporaries ever doubted it. (β) The Second Table, which sets forth Archbishop Laud's consecration, about a hundred years after the changes of the sixteenth century, points out with clearness how from Ireland, by the presence of Bishops co-operating at our English consecrations, several new links were added to a chain already strong and secure, joining Archbishop Laud by an unbroken spiritual lineage to the fathers of the old Church of St. Patrick. It also shows that other spiritual links from Italy and Scotland were respectively forged in the year 1617 and 1616, by the co-operation of Archbishop De Dominis in the consecrations of Bishops Montague and Felton on the one hand, and of Alexander, Bishop of Caithness,*

* Dr. George Grub of Aberdeen, the able and impartial Scottish Ecclesiastical Historian, in answer to certain inquiries, courteously wrote to the author as follows:—

“I am glad to be able to give you the information you request. The Bishop of Caithness who was in England in 1616, was Alexander Forbes. He was consecrated in the Cathedral Church of Brechin by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the Bishops of Brechin and Dunkeld. I cannot ascertain the precise day, but it was between the 15th of March and the 3rd of May, 1611. Bishop Alexander Forbes assisted at the consecration of Bishop Morton at Lambeth, on July the 7th, 1616. In Mr. Stubbs's very valuable *Registrum*, the Bishop of Caithness, who assisted at the consecration, is called ‘John.’ Mr. Stubbs was perhaps misled by Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, from which it would be inferred that on July 7th, 1616, John Abernethy had succeeded Bishop

in the consecration of Bishop Morton, on the other. Hence it has been asserted that even if Archbishop Parker's consecration, as certain opponents affirm, had been altogether null and void, the introduction of so many independent chains of succession at later times would have secured to Archbishop Laud a true and valid consecration. This position is certainly new and remarkable. To assume it, however, would be a perfect work of supererogation. Anyhow, it should be noted, as is pointed out in the Second Table that every Bishop of the Anglican rite traces his spiritual descent through Archbishop Laud. (γ) The Third Table is inserted in order that a difficulty which was felt in France by Bossuet and others,—a difficulty easily imagined when the leading events of the Commonwealth period are borne in mind,—may be removed. Here, therefore, the connection between the suffering prelates of 1646 and those consecrated after the Restoration, in 1662, is clearly set forth. Other independent links from Ireland, it should be noted, appear in this Table.

R marks on
appended
Tables of Con-
secrations of
Archbishop
Parker, Arch-
bishop Laud
and Arch-
bishop Juxon.

And now to sum up the leading arguments of this treatise. It has been shown that the Revised Ordinal, however much shorn of certain rites and external features of late introduction, contains Form and Matter which, when duly used with a good intention are sufficient for bestowing respectively the character of the episcopate, and the grace of the priesthood. For

Summary of
the Author's
arguments on
this Treatise.

Alexander Forbes on the translation of the letter to Aberdeen. Keith's dates are erroneous by a twelvemonth or thereby."—MS. Letter of George Grub, Esq., LL.D., of Aberdeen, to the Author.

according to those Western theologians, who have been referred to, that alone which is necessary to the form for the consecration of a Bishop, is the imposition of the hands of a duly-consecrated Bishop, with those of two other Bishops co-operating and assisting,* the chief Bishop publicly expressing during the service of ordination to what specific office the person consecrated is being promoted, and asking at the same time for the gift of the Holy Ghost to this end and purpose.† It has been likewise pointed out that the Form for bestowing the sacerdotal character is in essentials substantially identical with that used in the Roman Catholic Church, and in perfect harmony with the teaching of Eastern theologians regarding what is needful for the valid administration of this Sacrament.

* Of course consecration by one Bishop is valid, though irregular—because the ancient Councils enjoin the presence of three, and this with the express object of securing a valid consecration, in the case of neglect on the part of either one or the others.

† “The spirit of the Liturgies,” wrote the great Bossuet, “and of all acts of consecration in general, is not to confine us to certain precise moments, but to make us consider the whole of the action, that we may also understand the entire effect of it. In the consecration of a Priest the learned no longer doubt, after the great number of Sacramentals everywhere discovered, that the principal part is the imposition of hands with the prayer which accompanies it. This is properly the very essence of the consecration of the Priest, and yet after this consecration we add whilst the Priest's hands are being anointed, ‘May these hands be consecrated, etc.,’ as if the consecration were imperfect. All this is an effort of human language. We cannot express ourselves except by parts: whilst God, Who in one glance reads our hearts, what we have said, what we are saying, and what we intend to say, hears all and does all in the proper moments which are known to Him, so that we need not trouble ourselves at what precise instant He does it. It is sufficient that we express, by appropriate actions and words all that is done, and which (though done and pronounced successively) represent to us all the efforts united.”—Translation of Bossuet's *Explanation of the Mass*, pp. 206-7.

The fact of Archbishop Parker's Consecration has been historically vindicated by the help of records, documents, manuscript letters, and published works, which as clearly and conclusively prove the question, as it is possible for any historical fact to be proved. By this the author does not mean to infer that all the evidence existing has been here set forth: but that sufficient has been given, of the great mass which exists, from various independent quarters, and of such a character, as to satisfy the most critical, and to leave no reasonable doubt of the truth of the fact maintained.

Archbishop
Parker's Con-
secration.

The Consecrations of Barlow and Hodgkins, as well as those of Scory and Coverdale have been shown to have regularly taken place; thus giving to Archbishop Parker, as his consecrators, four bishops themselves validly consecrated, according to the laws and customs of Church and State.

Consecrations
of those
Bishops who
were Parker's
Consecrators.

Over and above the proofs of these facts, it has been furthermore clearly shown that the improbable Nag's Head Fable is an ill-constructed tissue of second-hand inventions, originated many years after the true and lawful consecration of Archbishop Parker was effected: and that it is altogether inconsistent with the several existing independent documents, all incontestably demonstrating both its general and particular falsehoods. In fine, that its re-appearance at the present day does not augur well for the research of those Anglo-Roman controversialists who, (after it has been pronounced an undoubted Fable by some of the chief literary men of their own communion,) are still sufficiently bold to make use of it, for

The Nag's
Head Fable, a
second-hand
and improb-
able Fiction.

the apparent purpose of misleading the confiding and uninstructed.

With regard to those charges which are sometimes made, that alterations in the Ordinal were effected not by legitimate ecclesiastical authority, but by the intrusive power of the State, we can but refer to much clear evidence to the contrary which has already been produced. And although this objection does not touch the question of the Validity of our English Ordinations, at the same time a consideration of the History of the periods in which the changes were made, provides a key for the solution of certain difficulties across which the partially-informed are not unlikely occasionally to stumble. As regards power and jurisdiction, ordinary bishops of sees, possess them in a threefold form. First the power of order ; secondly the power of interior jurisdiction ; thirdly that of exterior. Concerning this last-named jurisdiction, to discuss the relations which should exist between the Church and the Civil Power is beyond the scope of this treatise. Some recent utterances in the Roman Catholic Church, however, have tended to narrow the question very considerably, and to pave the way for a better understanding in the future between the separated brethren of the One True Fold.

Anciently, as has been already shown, National Churches, or groups of Churches, notoriously exercised similar powers to those which were put into operation in England in the year 1549 and 1662. To have altered aught what our Divine Lord bequeathed, or the Church Universal from the beginning, in all times and in all places, constantly accepted and taught, would have been to

Position and
powers of
National and
Local
Churches.

have grievously maimed or destroyed the life of our Ancient National Church. But nothing of the kind was done. As to this fact, the private opinions of individuals—whom the surge of tumult, with the scum of the times, cast high up on the shore after the storm—must not be taken into account when forming a judgment on the same; but only the formal and authoritative public documents of the local communion. To these here set forth or referred to, the fathers and doctors of our Church have constantly appealed. And if there be those amongst our separated brethren who maintain that there exists in the world a competent Authority of higher antiquity than, and of superior divine intelligence to, any particular or National Church, it will be in vain to appeal to any other local communion, however venerable or however extended, as alone being or exclusively constituting that body. Neither to Rome nor to Constantinople, separated and antagonistic, still less to Canterbury, a daughter of Rome visibly isolated from both, least of all to the Metropolitans of newer groups of dioceses, planted in these later days, is our appeal amid the Babel-voices of controversy, but to a future General Council, when it shall please God that it be summoned. Rome may not judge England; England cannot judge Rome, for there is a Power in the world superior to both. Rome may speak, and Constantinople, and Lambeth; their utterances are venerated, their words received with respect. Such however are but the voices of separated portions of the One Christian Family. Infallibility is not with either alone, but with all at one. This external unity in times past existed. What has been, may be. God hasten that day!

As to the re-ordinations of certain English Priests who, for conscience' sake, have shifted their religious positions, such are clearly irregular if not formally sacrilegious. To repeat an Ordination conditionally—and most of those repeated have been both conferred and received without any condition—it is essential that the nullity of the previous act be perfectly evident, and the doubt concerning its validity have a secure and solid foundation. But the author has not the smallest hesitation in solemnly affirming his sincere conviction that no impartial tribunal, knowing the facts, could possibly lay down any principles in judging Church-of-England Ordinations to be invalid, which would not completely shake all faith in every sacramental act done in any part of the Church.

Finally, it should not remain unnoticed that those whose presumed interest it has been to endeavour to cast doubt upon, and to disparage our Ordinations, have never, for any long period together, been agreed as to what was their specific defect. It is unquestionable that from the accession of King Edward VI. to the death of Queen Elizabeth, all the leading Roman Catholic controversialists were eager to maintain the *illegality* of the Ordinations, by reason of their presumed infraction both of the laws of the National Church and of the State of England. From 1604, however, when the Nag's Head Fable was first invented, our opponents shifted their ground, and what Holywood then first proclaimed, was taken up, expanded, improved on, and garnished by the imaginative pens of men, sometimes wanting both in truth and love. Since that period certain Roman Catholic

Re-ordinations
unjustifiable
and sacrilegious.

The objections
to our Ordina-
tions variable,
contradictory
and dangerous
in principle.

writers have again and again shifted their position. Defeated at one point, clearly shown to be uninformed as regards one fact, they have seldom admitted their mistake, but have remained silent for a period, only to change their ground and vary their tactics anew. Such a policy need not be further characterized, for it carries its own condemnation.

Recent writers, of that communion, on the other hand, have made a change in the crooked course so long unhappily followed. There are those now, thoroughly informed of the facts, who by their position and attainments, as well as their fearless love of truth, have done, and are doing so much to bring about a better understanding between the separated Churches; and who see the utter waste of ill-spent energy, which for so considerable a period has been made in discussing a question regarding which, as facts become better known, there will not exist two opinions. Not only in England, but on the continent, the well-deserved influence of these impartial writers is extending. And thus, in this particular, the further practical work of preparation for Corporate Reunion is being successfully carried on.

As the author's pen was taken up in the interests of this great movement; ere he lays it down, this part of his book is closed with the following pregnant passage from Mr. De Lisle's remarkable treatise "On the Future Unity of Christendom:—"

"I am equally persuaded," he writes at p. 25, "that this glorious result can never be achieved so long as Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant, persevere in the littleness of polemical controversy, attacking what appears to them the weak points of each other, instead of calmly showing the strong

points of truth. Let earnest-minded men on both sides suspend their internecine warfare, let a truce be proclaimed, and falling down before God in common prayer, through the merits of our Common Redeemer, let us beseech of Him to enlighten us, that we may come to an agreement, and that faith may take the place of doubt."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. NOTE CONCERNING ARCHBISHOP HAMPTON.—Christopher Hampton, D.D., was born at Calais, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. “One Christopher Hampton was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1570; and in 1585 was elected a Fellow. Probably this was the Archbishop.” [Cole.] He was nominated for Bishop of Derry in 1611, but was not consecrated to that see. He was advanced to the Primacy by patent, dated May 7th, and consecrated on the day following. He was a person of great learning, and a benefactor to his see, having repaired the ruined Cathedral of Armagh, and built a handsome Palace at Drogheda, repaired the Palace at Armagh, and bestowed on it a demesne of 300 acres. He died on 3rd January, 162 $\frac{4}{5}$, and was buried in St. Peter’s Church at Drogheda. Among the MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin, is his “Collection of Proofs relating to the Precedence of the Archbishops of Armagh.” *Vide* Table of Consecrations No. II., “Archbishop Laud’s Consecration.”

2. THE IRISH SUCCESSION AS EXISTING AND PERPETUATED IN 1662.—Eight of the prelates who had governed the Irish Church before the Rebellion survived until the Restoration. Of these the ablest and most noted was John Bramhall, D.D., Bishop of Derry, who was translated to Armagh, and became Primate of all Ireland. Soon after this translation he consecrated twelve Bishops to fill the vacant sees, in January 1663. So that Ireland possessed four Archbishops and seventeen Bishops, a number which was retained until the mischievous Act of 1833 came into operation. Since the Church of Ireland has recently been robbed of the main part of her lawful revenues and disconnected from the State, it would seem only politic on the part of her present rulers to fill up the ancient sees once more.

3. NOTE CONCERNING ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.—John Bramhall, D.D., was born at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, and was educated at Sidney College, Cambridge. After quitting the University, he kept a school at Kilburne, near Kirtlington, in Yorkshire; and having distinguished himself by a successful controversy with a Roman Catholic Priest and Jesuit, was made a Prebendary of York, and afterwards of Ripon, in 1633. Hearing of the distressed state of the Irish Church, he yielded to the persuasions of the Earl of Strafford; and, resigning all his English preferments, to the deep grief of his friends and parishioners, came over to Ireland as Chaplain to the Lord Deputy. He was soon made Archdeacon of Meath, and was employed in a regal visitation of the bishoprics of the south of Ireland. In 1634 he was advanced to the bishopric of Derry, where he diligently applied himself to the improvement both of the spirituals and temporals of the Church. He bore a principal share in bringing about the adoption of the English Articles, and in compiling a body of Canons for the Irish Church. During the troubles, which followed the Rebellion of 1641, he retired to the Continent; but at the Restoration returned to Ireland, and was speedily advanced to the Primacy, when he continued to exert himself in every way for the permanent benefit of the Church. He died in Dublin, on June 30th, 1663, in the seventieth year of his age; and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral. *Vide* p. 324.

4. JAMES SHIRLEY.—James Shirley is said to have been of an ancient family. He was born A.D. 1694, in London, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School; he went to St. John's College, Oxford, but was advised by his friend and patron, Laud, not to take orders. However he left Oxford, went to Cambridge, was eventually ordained, and subsequently obtained preferment near St. Alban's. Here he joined the Church of Rome, after which, going to London, he resided at Gray's Inn, where he wrote thirty-nine plays. His first, *The Wedding*, was published in 1629. He died in 1666, having been burnt out of his house by the great Fire of London. He is said to have regarded the ordinations of the Church of England as good and valid, but came to agree with the martyred archbishop

that he was not a fit person for the office to which he had been appointed.—*Note to Chapter xxiv.*, p. 248.

5. MANBY, DEAN OF DERRY.—Peter Manby, A.D. 1672, sometime scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, afterwards canon of Kildare, was installed Dean of Derry, Dec. 21st, 1672. Having, as it is declared, been disappointed of his hopes of obtaining a Bishopric, he, for this and other reasons, joined the Church of Rome. In 1686, King James II. granted him a dispensation under the Great Seal of England, dated July 21st, authorising him to retain the Deanery of Derry, notwithstanding that he had declared himself a Roman Catholic, and had declined to be re-ordained. He was the author of a few tracts—the most remarkable being on the Duty of Abstinence and the value of Sacramental Confession. Manby died in London, in 1697, having undergone no re-ordination to the day of his death.—*Note to Chapter xxiv.*

6. ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 276.—“The French clergy who lived at Thame for so many years after the Revolution were certainly on the best of terms with the Vicar, and constantly expressed their warm interest in the position and work of the Church of England. At that time there were only two or three Dissenting families in Thame, and everybody attended the Parish Church. The French Priests who performed their own religious duties very early on Sunday mornings in a room fitted up as a Chapel, at Mr. W——’s house, usually attended the Evening Services, sitting in the Chancel in their long black gowns, and publicly taking part in them. Before those who returned home left the town, they publicly thanked God, in the Prayers of the Church of England on a day set apart, for His mercies and blessings to them, and acknowledged the hospitalities of the English people. The Vicar preached on the occasion of this occurrence of a religious thanksgiving, and a beautiful and touching sermon it was. The French Priests revered him greatly. He had buried some of their number in the Churchyard, when the services were very solemnly done; and they left him memorials of their affection

and respect, both as a friend and as the clergyman of the parish."—MS. Letter belonging to the Author.

Extracts from the Registers of Burial of the Prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Thame, Oxon.

"Burials, A.D. 1796.—Jan. 18, Rev. William Chandemerle, French Priest of the Parish of St. Thurstan, Town of Quintin, Diocese of St. Brieux, Province of Brittany, Aged 69.

„ A.D. 1796.—Rev. John Benign Le Bihan, French Priest of St. Martin des Prés, Diocese of Quimper, Province of Brittany, Aged 60."

7. BISHOP STONOR ON ANGLICAN ORDERS. *Vide* p. 277.—The following passage from a Roman Catholic Magazine of the early part of this present century has been forwarded as stating the expressed opinion of Bishop Henry Stonor. As the Author of this Treatise was unable to verify it, it was omitted in the book itself, and is added here in order that any one better acquainted with the literature in question may do so :—

"The question between the Protestant Church and ourselves is not one that can be settled by any determined controversies about Ordinations, the form of Ordination, or the changes at the Reformation; therefore, the anxiety on this point, of your correspondent 'T.R.,' is exaggerated, as it seems to me and to others whom I have consulted. Bishop Stonor, who was one of those who held the sufficiency of the Ordination Formularies of the Prayer Book of the Established Church, maintained in print that as far as he had inquired he was willing to believe that Church-of-England Ordinations were sufficient and valid; but that the question of separation from the Catholic Church, far graver and far more considerable, was *the* question which ought always to be put in the fore-front of our controversies, when controversy appeared likely to do good rather than harm."

No. I.—ARCHBISHOP

(With the exception of Scory, Coverdale, and Parker himself, all the Bishops Roman or Irish f

MATTHEW PARKER,
Archbishop of Can-
terbury, consecra- BY
ted at Lambeth,
Dec. 17, 1559.

1. *William Barlow, Bishop elect of Chichester, consecrated at Lambeth, BY June 11, 1536.

[Vide Haddan on Bramhall *in loco*.]

2. John Hodgkins, Suffragan of the diocese of London, Bishop of Bedford, consecrated Dec. 9, 1537, at St. Paul's, London. The Commission issued Dec. 3, 1537. See Rymer, tom. xiv. pp. 584-585. He is called "Richard" by mistake in the Rolls. In Cranmer's and Parker's Registers his name occurs as "John."

3. John Scory, Bishop elect of Hereford, and

4. Miles Coverdale, sometime Bishop of Exeter, consecrated together at Croydon, August 30, 1551.

1. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated at St. Stephen's, West

2. John Voysey, Bishop of Hereford, consecrated November 6, 1537.
3. John Clark, Bishop of Exeter, consecrated December 6, 1537.

1. John Stokesley, Bishop of London, consecrated at London,

2. John Hilsley, Bishop of Hereford, consecrated at Winchester 26, 1535.

3. Robert Parfew, Bishop of Exeter, consecrated at Lambeth

1. †Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

2. Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Exeter, consecrated at the Dean Chapel, September 25, 1535.
3. †John Hodgkins.

* The formal records of the consecration of the two Bishops marked thus (*), viz. :—Stephanus determined by Mr. Haddan. The author of this book is indebted to Mr. Haddan for the following information.

† Those names of Bishops which are marked thus (†) are repeated in the above Table, and the date and place of consecration.

KER'S CONSECRATION.

his Table were consecrated either by the unrevised Sarum Pontifical, or by the for Consecration.)

of Can- 1533, BY er.	1. John Longlands, Bishop of Lincoln, consecrated at Lambeth, May 5, 1521, 2. †John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter. 3. Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, consecrated at Otford, July 11, 1518,	BY	1. †William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.
			2. †John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Cardinal.
			3. Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, consecrated at Lambeth, Oct. 7, 1515.
er, con- conse- Rome.	1. William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated at Lambeth, September 25, 1502. 2. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, consecrated at Lambeth, Nov. 24, 1504, afterwards made a Cardinal. 3. Thomas, Bishop of Leighlin.	BY	1. †William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.
			2. †John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Cardinal.
			3. Thomas, Bishop of Leighlin.
London, 1530.	1. †John Longlands, Bishop of Lincoln. 2. †Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph. 3. Richard Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, consecrated at Lambeth, April 26, 1523.	BY	1. †William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.
			2. †John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Cardinal.
			3. †John Longlands, Bishop of Lincoln.
chester, Septem-	1. †Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. 2. *Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, consecrated Dec. 3, 1531. 3. Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, consecrated at St. Stephen's, Westminster, April 11, 1535.	BY	1. †Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.
			2. †John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter.
			3. †John Clerk, Bishop of Bath.
Asaph, 1536.	1. †Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. 2. William Rugg, Bishop of Norwich, consecrated June 11, 1536. 3. John Capon, Bishop of Bangor, consecrated at Croydon, April 19, 1534.	BY	1. †Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.
			2. †John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter.
			3. †John Clerk, Bishop of Bath.
hop of London, St. Paul's	1. Henry Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln, consecrated March 24, 1538. 2. †John Hodgkins. 3. Thomas, Bishop of Sidon.	BY	1. †John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Cardinal.
			2. Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester.
			3. †Robert Parfew, Bishop of St. Asaph.

Gardiner and William Barlow, are lost. The date of Barlow's consecration is here given as and to put it either on the 23rd or 25th of the preceding April.

A reference to the names as they at first occur will give those of their consecrators, of their consecration.

William
Laud,*
Arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury, and
Martyr;
consec-
rated at BY
London
House,
Nov. 18,
1521.
Obtained
his
Crown
Jan. 10,
1645.

1. George Mon-
teigne, Bishop
of London,
consecrated
at Lambeth
Dec. 14, 1617. BY
2. Nicholas Fel-
ton, Bishop of
Ely, conse-
crated at the
same time
and place.

1. George Abbot, Archbishop
of Canterbury, consecrated BY
at Lambeth, Dec. 3, 1669.
2. MARK ANTONY DE DOMINIS
CONSECRATED BISHOP OF
SEGNIA IN 1559, TRANSLATED
TO SPALATO, AFTERWARDS
DEAN OF WINDSOR.
3. John King, Bishop of Lon-
don, consecrated at Lam-
beth, Sep. 8, 1611.
4. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop
of Winchester, consecrated
at Lambeth, Nov. 3, 1605.
5. John Overall, Bishop of
Norwich, consecrated at
Lambeth, April 3, 1614.
6. John Buckeridge, Bishop
of Rochester, consecrated
at Lambeth June 9, 1611.

1. Richard Bancroft, conse-
crated Bishop of London
at Lambeth, May 8, 1597. BY
2. Lancelot Andrews, Bis-
hop of Ely, consecrated at
Lambeth, Dec. 3, 1609.
3. Richard Neile, Bishop of
Rochester, consecrated at
Lambeth, Oct. 9, 1608.

3. JOHN THORNBOROUGH, BISHOP OF LIMERICK,* IN
IRELAND, CONSECRATED IN 1598, TRANSLATED TO
WORCESTER IN 1616.

4. George Carle-
ton, Bishop of
Chichester,
consecrated BY
at Lambeth,
July 12, 1618.

1. †George Abbot.
2. †John King.
3. †John Buckeridge.
4. †John Overall.
5. George Monteigne.

5. John How-
son, Bishop
of Oxford,
consecrated BY
at Lambeth,
May 9, 1619.

1. †George Abbot.
2. †John King.
3. †John Buckeridge.
4. Thomas Morton, Bishop of
Lichfield, consecrated at BY
Lambeth, July 7, 1616,
5. Arthur Lake, Bishop of
Bath, consecrated at Lam-
beth, Dec. 8, 1616.

1. †George Abbot.
2. CHRISTOPHER HAMPTON,
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH. BY
3. †John King.
4. †John Overall.
5. ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF
CAITHNESS IN SCOTLAND.

6. Theophilus
Field, Bishop
of Llandaff,
consecrated BY
at Lambeth,
Oct. 10, 1619.

1. †George Abbot.
2. †John King.
3. †John Buckeridge.
4. Richard Milbourne, conse-
crated at Lambeth, July 9,
1615.
5. GEORGE, BISHOP OF DERRY
IN IRELAND.

* The names of the Bishops printed in small capital letters are those either of

† The names of Bishops which are marked thus (†) are repeated in the above table

LAUD'S CONSECRATION.

John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated at Lambeth, April 21, 1577.
 John Young, Bishop of Rochester, consecrated at Lambeth, March 16, 1578.
 Anthony Rudd, Bishop of St. David's, consecrated at Lambeth, June 9, 1594.
 Richard Vaughan, Bishop of Bangor, consecrated at Lambeth, Jan. 25, 1596.
 Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester, consecrated at Lambeth, Aug. 15, 1596.

1. †John Whitgift.
2. †John Young.
3. Richard Vaughan.
4. Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Worcester, consecrated at Lambeth, June 13, 1596.

1. †John Whitgift.
2. Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 14, 1589.
3. William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 6, 1584.
4. †Richard Vaughan.

1. †John Whitgift.
2. Edmund Freke, Bishop of Worcester, consecrated at Lambeth, March 9, 1572.
3. John Wolton, Bishop of Exeter, consecrated at Croydon, Aug. 2, 1579.
4. MARMADUKE MIDDLETON, CONSECRATED BISHOP OF WATERFORD IN IRELAND, TRANSLATED TO ST. DAVID'S IN 1582.

N.B. Archbishop Whitgift was consecrated by Edmund Grindal, April 21, 1577, and Grindal was consecrated by Archbishop Matthew Parker on Dec. 21, 1559.

THOMAS JONES, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 GEORGE MONTGOMERY, BISHOP OF MEATH.
 WILLIAM PILSWORTH, BISHOP OF KILDARE.
 JOHN RIDER, BISHOP OF KILLALOE.

Archbishop Laud, whose spiritual pedigree here is traced up to Matthew Parker, 70th Archbishop of Canterbury, united in his person, as will be seen from a study of this chart (a), the old English succession through Parker; (b) the Irish succession through (1) Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, (2) through Thornborough, Bishop of Limerick, (3) through George, Bishop of Derry, (4) and through Middleton, Bishop of Waterford; (d) the ancient Scottish succession through John, Bishop of Caithness; and (e) the Italian succession through De Dominis, sometime Archbishop of Spalato.

The said Archbishop Laud when Primate consecrated William Juxon and thirteen other bishops. Of these, Duppa of Winchester, Wren of Ely, Warner of Rochester, and King of Chichester, survived the Great Rebellion, and consecrated new Bishops to fill the vacant Sees. Thus every bishop now in the mother church of England, in the Colonies, in the Scotch Episcopal Church, and in the American Church, traces his spiritual descent through the great Archbishop Laud.

, Scotch, or Italian prelates—of whose succession there has never been any doubt.

A reference to the names as they first occur will give the date of their consecration.

No. III.—ARCHBISHOP

William Juxon consecrated at Lambeth, Oct.
27, 1633, survived the Great Rebellion: BY
made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1660.

1. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated at London House, Nov. 18, 1621.
2. Richard Neile, Archbishop of York, consecrated at Lambeth, Oct. 9, 1608.
3. Francis White, Bishop of Ely, consecrated at Durham House, Dec. 23, 1626.
4. WILLIAM MURRAY, SOMETIME BISHOP OF KILFENORA (APPOINTED TO LLANDAFF IN 1627), CONSECRATED IN ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN, DEC. 18, 1622.
5. John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, consecrated at Lambeth, June 9, 1611.
6. John Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, consecrated at Lambeth, June 10, 1632.

* Those names of Bishops which are marked thus (†) are repeated in the above Table.
N.B. The names of the Bishops printed in small capital letters are those

XON'S CONSECRATION.

Vide Table No. II. for Archbishop Laud's Descent.

1. †Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, afterwards Archbishop of York.
2. †John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester.
3. John Howson, Bishop of Oxford, consecrated at Lambeth, May 9, 1619.
4. Theophilus Field, Bishop of St. David's, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, consecrated at Lambeth Oct. 10, 1619.
5. †WILLIAM MURRAY, BISHOP OF KILFENORA.

1. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 3, 1609.
2. John King, Bishop of London, consecrated at Lambeth, Sep. 8, 1611.
3. †John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester.
4. Richard Milbourne, Bishop of St. David's, consecrated at Lambeth, July 9, 1615.
5. GEORGE, BISHOP OF DERRY IN IRELAND.

1. LAURENCE, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
2. JAMES, BISHOP OF MEATH.
3. ROLAND, BISHOP OF CLONFERT.
1. †George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.
2. Theophilus Field, Bishop of St. David's.
3. †Francis White, Bishop of Ely.
4. †WILLIAM MURRAY, SOMETIME BISHOP OF KILFENORA.
5. John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester.

✚ In addition to those Irish Bishops whose names appear in this table, William Fuller, some time Bishop of Limerick was translated to the see of Lincoln in 1667. He had been consecrated at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, on May 20th, 1663, by (1) Michael, Archbishop of Dublin, (2) John, Bishop of Clogher, (3) Robert, Bishop of Ferns, and (3) Edward, Bishop of Cork. Bishop Fuller of Lincoln afterwards assisted at the Consecrations of Alexander Hyde, Bishop of Sarum, December 31st, 1665, in the chapel of New College, Oxford, and of Robert Morgan, Bishop of Bangor, on July 1, 1666, at Lambeth. This Bishop of Bangor assisted at the consecration of Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter (1667); and, in conjunction with Robert, Bishop of Clogher, of Henry Bridgman, Bishop of Sodor and Man (1671.) In 1692, Edward Jones, Bishop of Cloyne, [consecrated at Cashel by (1) Thomas, Archbishop of Cashel, (2) Hugh, Bishop of Waterford, (3) John, Bishop of Killaloe, and (4) Simon, Bishop of Limerick, on March 11th, 1683], was translated to St. Asaph, and assisted at the consecration of William Talbot, (1699), Bishop of Oxford, afterwards translated to Sarum and Durham, who, in his turn, assisted at many consecrations. Furthermore: in 1684, Ezekiel, Bishop of Derry, assisted in the consecration of Thomas Spratt, Bishop of Rochester; in 1685, Alexander, Bishop of Glasgow, assisted at the consecration of Baptist Levinz, Bishop of Sodor and Man; and in the same year James, Bishop of Dunkeld, assisted at the consecration of Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough.

reference to the names as they first occur will give the date of their consecration.
Irish prelates—of whose succession there has never been any doubt.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

No. I.

AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS REGARDING ORDINATION OFFICIALLY PUBLISHED IN 1537 AND 1543.

THE *Institution of a Christian Man* was published in 1537, in 8vo., and also in 4to. Both John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter (who was one of Cranmer's and Barlow's consecrators), and Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, in formal Injunctions to their clergy, issued respectively A.D. 1538 and A.D. 1542, enjoined the use of this book upon all "parsons, vicars, curates, chantry-priests, and all other of the clergy," for the instruction and edification of the faithful.

A very similar work, *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, was first printed in 1543, and again in 1545, four years before the issue and use of the Revised Ordinal. This may be seen from the colophon in a copy printed by Berthelet, in the Bodleian Library. And this fact of formal publication proves that the opinion of Cranmer, who was chiefly instrumental in drawing up and circulating these two treatises, was neither novel nor unsound with regard to Ordination. The following extract is made from the last-named book, with the object of indicating the theological character of a treatise approved by high authorities at the period of Barlow's consecration:—

"THE SACRAMENT OF ORDERS.

"As concerning the Sacrament of Orders, it is to be understood, that order is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ's Church, given of God to Christian men, by the consecration and imposition of the Bishop's hands upon them; and this

sacrament was conferred and given by the Apostles, as it appeareth in the Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, whom he had ordered and consecrated priest, where he saith thus : I do exhort thee that thou do stir up the grace of God, the which is given thee by imposition of my hands. And in another place he doth monish the same Timothy, and put him in remembrance of the room and ministry that he was called unto, in these words : Do not neglect the grace which thou hast in thee, and the which is given thee through prophecy and with imposition of hands, by the authority of priesthood. Whereby it appeareth that St. Paul did consecrate and order Priests and Bishops by the imposition of his hands. And as the Apostles themselves, in the beginning of the Church, did order Priests and Bishops, so they appointed and willed the other Bishops after them to do the like, as St. Paul manifestly showeth in his Epistle to Titus, saying thus : For this cause I left thee at Crete, that thou shouldest ordain Priests in every city, according as I have appointed thee. And to Timothy he saith, See that thou be not hasty to put thy hands upon any man.

“And here is to be noted, that although this form before declared is to be observed in giving orders, yet there is no certain rule prescribed or limited by the Word of God for the nomination, election, presentation, or appointing of any such ecclesiastical ministers ; but the same is wholly left unto the positive laws and ordinances of every Christian region, provided and made or to be made in that behalf, with the assent of the prince and ruler. And as concerning the office and duty of the said ecclesiastical ministers, the same consisteth in true preaching and teaching the Word of God unto the people, in dispensing and ministering the Sacraments of Christ, in consecrating and offering the blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, in loosing and assoiling from sin such persons as be sorry and truly penitent for the same, and excommunicating such as be guilty in manifest crimes, and will not be reformed otherwise ; and finally, in praying for the whole Church of Christ, and specially for the flock committed unto them. And although the office and ministry of Priests and Bishops stand chiefly in these things before rehearsed, yet neither they nor any of them may exercise and execute any of the same offices, but with such sort and such limitation as the

ordinances and laws of every Christian realm do permit and suffer.

“And because it is not meet that this so chargeable a cure should be committed to every man that peradventure ambitiously would desire it ; therefore St. Paul doth diligently set out to his disciples, Timothy and Titus, the conversation, learning, conditions, and qualities of them that should be admitted to the ministry of priesthood, writing in this manner : A Bishop or a Priest ought to be blameless, as a steward of God, not angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not greedy of filthy lucre, but given to hospitality, liberal, discreet, sober, righteous, devout, temperate, and continent, and such one as holdeth the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove them that say against it. Thus we have shortly touched, first the ordering of Priests and Bishops ; secondly, their ministry, office, and duty, with the charge and cure belonging thereunto ; and finally, the qualities and conditions required in the same.

“And forasmuch as it is an old heresy of the Donatists, condemned in the general councils, to think that the Word of God and his Sacraments should be of no efficacy, strength, or virtue, when they be ministered by evil men, it is to be remembered, that according to the saying of St. Gregory Nazianzene, Like as there is no difference between the self-same image or figure of anything imprinted with a signet of gold and a signet made of iron, or of wood, or any other viler matter, even so the Word of God and the Sacraments of God, ministered by an evil and naughty man, be of the self-same vigour, strength, and efficacy, as when they be ministered by a man of excellent virtue and goodness. The cause and reason whereof is, for that the Priests and Bishops, although in the execution of their office and administration, they do use and exercise the power and authority of God committed unto them, yet they be not the principal causers, nor the sufficient, or of themselves the efficient causers or givers of grace, or of any other spiritual gift which proceedeth and is given of God by His Word and His Sacraments ; but God is the only principal, sufficient, and perfect cause of all the efficacy of His Word and His Sacraments ; and by His only power, grace, and benefits it is that we receive the Holy Ghost and His graces, by the office and administration of the said Priests and Bishops, and the said Priests and Bishops be but only as

officers to execute and minister with their hands and tongues the outward and corporal things wherein God worketh and giveth grace inward, according to His pact and covenant made with and to His espouse the Church. And this also Chrysostom affirmeth, the eighty-fifth Homily upon St. John, where he saith in this manner: What speak I of Priests? I say that neither angel nor archangel can give us any of these things which be given unto us of God; but, it is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is the effectual cause of all these things; the Priest doth only put to his hands and his tongue. And in this point St. Ambrose also agreeth with the said sayings of Chrysostom, writing thus: The Priest layeth his hands upon us, but it is God that giveth the grace; the Priest layeth upon us his beseeching hands, but God blesseth us with his Mighty Hand; the Bishop consecrateth another Bishop, but it is God that giveth the worthiness. Wherefore we must always think and believe that the virtue and efficacy of the Word of God and His Sacraments consisteth and dependeth in and upon the commandment, ordinance, power, and authority of God only, and that neither the merits or worthiness of the ministers, be they never of such excellency, do give them their authority, strength, and efficacy; neither yet the malice nor corrupt living of them, be it never so evil, can frustrate or take away from the said Word or Sacraments their said power, authority, strength, or virtue.

“Moreover, as touching the order of deacons, we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that they were ordered and instituted by the same Apostles by prayer and imposition of their hands upon them. And as for the qualities and virtuous conversation which is required in them, St. Paul setteth them out, in his Epistle to Timothy, in these words: Deacons ought to be chaste, not double-tongued, no drunkards, not greedy of filthy lucre, having the mystery of faith in a pure conscience. And their office in the Primitive Church was partly in ministering meat and drink and other necessities to poor people found of the Church, partly also in ministering to the Bishops and Priests, and in doing their duty in the Church. And of these two orders only, that is to say, Priests and Deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and how they were conferred of the Apostles by prayer and imposition of their hands. And to these two the Primitive Church did add and conjoin certain

other inferior and lower degrees, as sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, with divers others, of the which mention is made of, both of the most ancient writers that we have in the Church of Christ, after the Apostles, and also divers old councils, and namely, in the Fourth Council of Africa, in which St. Augustine was present, whereas all the kinds of orders which were then in the Church be rehearsed, and also with what rites and ceremonies they were conferred and given at that time. And thus by succession from the Apostles order continued in the church, and hath ever been called and counted for a Sacrament, as it may appear by divers other ancient writers, and specially by St. Augustine, where he writeth thus, speaking both of the sacrament of baptism and of order: Either of them (saith he) is a sacrament, and either of them is given to men by a certain consecration, the one when a man is baptized, and the other when he is ordered; and, therefore, neither of them both may be iterate or repeated in the Catholic Church of Christ."

No. II.

"AN ACT RESTRAINING THE PAYMENT OF ANNATES, OR FIRST-FRUITES TO THE BISHOP OF ROME, AND OF THE ELECTING AND CONSECRATING OF ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS WITHIN THIS REALM," MADE THE TWENTY-FIFTH OF HEN. VIII. CAP. XX., SECT. 5.*

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"¶ Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whensoever any such presentment or nomination shall be made by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, by virtue and authority of this Act, and according to the tenor of the same: That then every Archbishop and Bishop, into whose hands any such presentment and nomination shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity, invest and consecrate the person nominate and presented by the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, to the office and dignity that such person shall be so presented unto, and give and use to him pall, and all other benedictions, ceremonies, and things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring, or obtaining hereafter any bulls, or other things at the See of Rome, for any such office or dignity in that behalf. And then after he hath made such oath and fealty duly to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, as shall be limited for the same, the King's Highness, by his Letters Patent under his great seal, shall signify the said election to one Archbishop, and two other Bishops, or else to four Bishops within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, to be assigned by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, requiring and commanding the said Archbishops and Bishops with all speed and celerity, to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person so elected to the office and dignity

* *The Second Volume Conteynyng those Statutes whiche have ben made in the tyme of the most victorouse reigne of Kyng Henrie the Eight.* London: 1551. The old mode of spelling has not been followed in this transcript. [These and the following Acts are taken from the contemporary black-letter copies in the British Museum.]

that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him such pall, benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, briefs, or other things at the said See of Rome, or by the authority thereof in any behalf.

“¶ And be it farther enacted by authority aforesaid, That every person and persons being hereafter chosen, elected, nominate, presented, invested, and consecrated to the dignity or office of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, according to the form, tenor, and effect of this present Act, and suing their temporalities, out of the King's hands, his heirs or successors, as hath been accustomed, and making a corporal oath to the King's Highness, and to none other, in form as is afore rehearsed, shall and may from henceforth be thrononised or installed, as the case shall require, and shall have and take their only restitution out of the King's hands, of all the possessions and profits spiritual and temporal belonging to the said Archbishoprick or Bishoprick whereunto they shall be so elected or presented, and shall be obeyed in all manner of things, according to the name, title, degree, and dignity that they shall be so chosen or presented unto, and do and execute in every thing and things touching the same, as any Archbishop or Bishop of this realm without offending of the prerogative royal of the Crown and the laws and customs of this realm might at any time heretofore do.

“¶ And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the Prior and Convent of any Monastery, or Dean and Chapter of any Cathedral Church where the See of an Archbishop or Bishop is within any the King's dominions, after such licence, as is afore rehearsed, shall be delivered to them, proceed not to election, and signifie the same according to the tenor of this Act within the space of twenty days next after such licence shall come to their hands: Or else if any Archbishop or Bishop within the King's dominions, after any such election, nomination, or presentation shall be signified unto them by the King's Letters Patents, shall refuse, and do not confirm, invest and consecrate with all due circumstance, as is aforesaid, every such person as shall be so elected, nominated, or presented, and to them signified, as is above mentioned, within twenty days next after the King's Letters Patents of such signification or pre-

sentation shall come to their hands, Or else if any of them, or any other person or persons, admit, maintain, allow, obey, do, or execute any censures, excommunications, interdictions, inhibitions, or any other process or act of that nature, name, or quality soever it be to the contrary, or let of due execution of this Act, That then every person so offending and doing contrary to this Act, shall run in the dangers, pains, and penalties of the estatute of Provision and Præmunire, made in the five and twentieth year of King Edward III., and in the sixteenth year of King Richard II."

No. III.

"AN ACT FOR THE ELECTION OF BISHOPS, AND WHAT SEALS AND STYLE THEY AND OTHER SPIRITUAL PERSONS, EXERCISING JURISDICTION ECCLESIASTICAL, SHALL USE," PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1547. 1 EDWARD VI., CAP. 2.*

"FORASMUCH as the elections of Archbishops and Bishops by the Deans and Chapters be as well to the long delay as to the great costs and charges, &c. . . . Be it enacted . . . that the King may, by his Letters Patent, at all times, when any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick be void, confer the same to any person whom the King shall think meet, the which collation so by the King's Letters Patent made . . . shall stand, to all intents, constructions, and purposes to as much and the same effect as though *Congé d'Eslire* had been given, the election duly made, and the same confirmed. And that upon the said person to whom the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, or Suffraganship is so conferred, collated, or given, may be consecrated, and sue his livery, or *outer le mayne*, and do other things as well as if the said Ceremonies and Elections had been done and made."

* *Anno Primo Edwardi Sexti. Statutes made in the Parliament begun at Westminster, etc., folio iv.* London: Richard Grafton, 1548. The old mode of spelling has not been followed in this transcript.

No. IV.

"AN ACT FOR THE ORDERING OF ECCLESIASTICAL
MINISTERS" PASSED IN THE YEAR 1549. 3 & 4 EDW.
VI., c. 12.*

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" SUCH form and manner of making and consecrating of Arch-
bishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the
Church, as by six Prelates, and six other men of this realm
learned in God's law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed and
assigned, or by the most number of them shall be devised for
that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal of England
before the first of April next coming, shall be lawfully exercised
and used, and none other."

* *Anno Tertio et Quarto Edwardi Sexti. Acts made in the Session of this present Parliament, etc.* London: Richard Grafton, 1549. The old mode of spelling has not been followed in this transcript.

No. V.

“AN ACT FOR THE UNIFORMITY OF COMMON PRAYER,
AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS,”
PASSED IN 1552 TO ANNEX THE ORDINAL TO THE
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. 5 & 6 EDW. VI. c. 1.*

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“BECAUSE there hath risen in the use and exercise of the aforesaid Common Service in the Church, heretofore set forth, divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause: Therefore as well for the more plain and manifest explanation thereof, as for the more perfection of the said Order of Common Service, in some places where it is necessary to make the same Prayer and fashion of service more earnest and fit to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God: the King’s most excellent Majesty, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, hath caused the aforesaid Order of Common Service, entituled, *The Book of Common Prayer*, to be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect, and by the aforesaid authority hath annexed and enjoined it, so explained and perfected, to this present Statute; adding also a form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons to be of like force authority and value, as the same like aforesaid Book, entituled, *The Book of Common Prayer* was before, and to be accepted, received, used, and esteemed in like sort and manner, and with the same clauses of provisions and exceptions to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as by the Act of Parliament made in the second year of the King’s Majesty’s Reign, was ordained limited, expressed and appointed for the uniformity of service, and administration of the Sacraments

* *Anno Quinto et Sexto Edwardi Sexti. Acts made in the Session of this present Parliament, etc.* London: Richard Grafton, 1552. The old mode of spelling has not been followed in this transcript.

throughout the realm, upon such several pains, as in the said Act of Parliament is expressed : and the said former Act to stand in full force and strength, to all intents and constructions, and to be applied, practised, and put in use, to and for the establishing of *The Book of Common Prayer*, now explained and hereunto annexed, and also the said form of making Archbishops, Bishops, or Priests and Deacons hereunto annexed, as it was for the former Book.”

No. VI.

AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT PASSED IN THE FIRST YEAR
OF QUEEN MARY IN 1553, TO REPEAL THE TWO
PRECEDING ACTS MADE UNDER EDWARD VI.

“ Rotulus Parliamenti, etc. anno Regni Marie Regine Primo.

“IN PARLIAMENTO p^r Prorogationem tento apud Westm: xxiiij. die
Octobris, Anno Regni Excellentissimi ac Serenissimi Dñe: nr̄e :
Marie Dei gratia Anglie Franchie et Hibernie Regine, Fidei
Defensoris ac in Terris Ecclē: Anglicane et Hibernice Supremi
Capitis * primo et ibidem continuato usq: in vj. diem Decembris,
anno dcō : quo die dissolutum erat in secunda viz. Sessione
ejusdem Parliamenti. Comuni oīm Procerum ac Populi con-
sensū ac Regie Majestatis tum presentis assensū sancita inactata
ordinata ac stabilita fuerunt xxxj. Statuta subsequētia, viz.—

*“ An Acte for the Repeale of Certayne Statutes made in the time
of the Raigne of Kinge Edwarde the Syxthe.*

*“ Exhibita est Regie Mātī: in Parlamento predicto Billa quedam
formam Actus in se continens.*

“5. FORASMUCHE as by dyvers and severall Actes hereafter
mentioned, as well the Dyvine Service and goodde administracon
of the Sacramentes as dyvers other matters of Religion whiche
we and our Forefathers founde in this Church of Englande, to
us lefte by thauctoritie of the Catholyke Church, partly bee
altered and in some parte taken from us, and in place thereof
newe thinges imagined and set forthe by the sayd Actes, suche
as a fewe of singularitie have of themselves devised, whereof
hathe ensewed amongst us in verie shorte time numbers of
dyvers and straung opinions and diversitees of Sectes, and
thereby growen greate unquietnes and much discorde, to the
greate disturbance of the Comon Wealthe of this Realme, and
in very shorte time lyke to growe to extreame perill and utter
confusion of the same, onles some remedye bee in that behalf
provided ; which thing all true, loving, and obedient subjectes
ought and are bounden to foresee and provide to thuttermost of
their power.

* The use of this term should be noted.

“ IN CONSIDERATION WHEREOF, Be it enacted and established by the Queene's Highnes, the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and the Commons in this same present Parliament assembled, and by thauthoritee of the same, That an Acte made in the Parliament begoane at *Westminster* the fourthe daye of *November* in the first yere of the Reigne of the late King *Edwarde* the Syxthe, and from thens continued till the xxiiij daye of *December* then next ensuing; that is to saye, in the first Session of the same Parliament, intituled, an Acte againste the Sacrament of the Bodye and Bloude of Christ, commonlye called The Sacrament of the Alter, and for the receyving thereof in bothe kindes; And also one other Acte in the same Session, which is intituled An Acte for the leccoon of Bishoppes, and what Seales and Stiles they and other Spirituall persons exercising jurisdiction ecclesiasticall shoulde use. And also one other Acte made in one other Session of the said Parliament, holden upon prorogation at *Westminster*, the fourthe daye of *November*, in the seconde yere of the Raigne of the sayd late King *Edwarde* the Syxthe, and ther continued and kepte to the xiiij daye of *Marche*, in the thirde yere of the sayd late Kinge's Raigne, intituled, An Acte for the Uniformitie of Service and Administracon of the Sacramentes throughout the Realme. And also one other Acte, made in the Session last before named, which is intituled, An Acte to take awaye all positive Lawes made against the Marriage of Priestes. And also one other Acte, made in one other Session of the sayd Parliament, holden upon prorogacon at *Westminster*, the fourthe daye of *November*, in the thirde yere of the Raigne of the sayd late King *Edward* the Syxthe, and ther continued and kepte to the first daye of *Februarie*, in the fourthe yere of his Raigne, intituled, An Acte for thabolishing and putting awaye of dyvers Bookes and Images. And also one other Acte, made in the same Session last before mentioned, intituled, An Acte made for thordering of the ecclesiasticall Ministers. And also one other Acte, made in one other Session of the sayd Parliament, holden upon prorogacon at *Westminster*, the xxiiij day of *Januarie*, in the fifthe yere of the Raigne of the sayd late King, intituled, An Acte for the Uniformitie of Common Prayour and thadministracon of the Sacramentes. And one other Acte, made in the same last Session, intituled, An Acte for the keeping of Holye Dayes and Fasting Dayes. And one other Acte, made in the Session last recited,

intituled, An Acte made for the declaracon of a statute made for the Marriage of Priests and for the legittimacon of their children. And everye clause, sentence, braunche, article and articles mentioned, expressed, or contained in the sayd Estatutes, and in everye of them, shall bee fromhensforthe utterly repelled, voide, adnichilate and of none effecte, to all purposes, construccions and intentes, any thing or thinges, contained or specifiedd in the said Estatutes, or any of them, to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding.

“AND BE IT FURTHERE enacted by thauthorite aforesaid, That all suche Dyvine Service and Administracion of Sacramentes as were most commonly used in the Realme of Englande in the laste yere of the Raigne of our late Sovereigne Lord Kinge *Henrie* theight, shall bee, from after the xxth daye of *December*, in this presente yere of our Lord God one thousande five hundrethe fiftie and three, used and frequented through the hole Realme of Englande, and all other the Queene's Majestie's Dominions, and that no other kinde nor order of Dyvine Service nor Administratyon of Sacramentes bee, after the sayd xxth daye of *December*, used or ministredd in any other manner, fourme or degree within the said Realme of Englande or other the Queene's Dominions, then was most commonly used, ministredd and frequented in the sayd last yere of the Raigne of the sayd King *Henrie* the Eight. And be it further enacted, by the authoritie aforesaid, That no person shall bee empeached or molested in bodey or gooddes for using heretofore or untill the sayd xxth daye of *December* the Dyvine Service mentioned in the sayd Actes or any of them, nor for using of the Olde Dyvine Service and Administracion of Sacramentes in such manner and fourme as was used in the Church of Englande before making of any of the sayd Actes.

“CUI QUIDEM Bille perlecte et ad plenum intellectu per dicam Donam Reginam, ex auctoritate Parliamenti predici. Sic Responsum est

“LA REIGNE LE VEULT.”

This is a true Copy, from the original Record remaining in the Chapel of the Rolls, having been examined.

JOHN KIPLING.

Re-examined and found correct,

W. H. WHITLEY.

No. VII.

AN ACT MADE IN 1559 UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH, TO
RE-ESTABLISH "THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER"
DRAWN UP UNDER EDWARD VI.

" WHEREAS at the death of our late Sovereign Lord King Edward VI., there remained one uniform order of common service and prayer, and of the administration of Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, which was set forth in one book, entituled, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England authorised by Act of Parliament holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said Sovereign Lord King Edward VI., entituled An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments ; the which was repealed and taken away by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lady, Queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's Religion.

" Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That the said estatute of repeal, and everything therein contained, only concerning the said book, and the service and administration of the Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies contained or appointed in, or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist next coming, And that the said book with the order of service, and of the administration of Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this estatute, shall stand and be from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this estatute, anything in the foresaid estatute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

" And further be it enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular Ministers—shall from and after the Feast of the Nativity of

Saint John Baptist next coming, be bounden to say and use Mattens, Evensong, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book so authorised by Parliament, in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward VI., with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise."

No. VIII.

AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT PASSED IN 1566, DECLARING
THE LEGALITY OF THE ORDINATIONS MADE SINCE
1559.

“FORASMUCH as divers questions by overmuch boldness of speech and talk amongst many of the common sort of people being unlearned, hath lately grown upon the making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops within this realm, whether the same were, and be duly and orderly done according to the law or not, which is much tending to the slander of all the state of the Clergy, being one of the greatest states of this realm; Therefore for the avoiding of such slanderous speech, and to the intent that every man that is willing to know the truth, may plainly understand that the same evil speech and talk is not grounded upon any just matter or cause, it is thought convenient hereby partly to touch such authorities as do allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same Archbishops and Bishops to be duly and orderly done according to the Laws of this realm, and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof, as hereafter shall be expressed.

“First, it is very well known to all degrees of this realm, that the late King of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, as well by all the Clergy then of this realm, in their several convocations, as also by all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons assembled in divers of his Parliaments, was justly and rightfully recognised and acknowledged to have the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule, and authority over all the estate Ecclesiastical of the same, and the same power, jurisdiction and authority did use accordingly—and that at the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the first year of our sovereign Lady, the Queen’s Majesty that now is, by one other Act and Statute there made, all such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may be lawfully used over the ecclesiastical state of this realm, and the order, reformation and correction of the same, is fully and absolutely, by the authority of the same Parliament, united

and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm : and by the same Act and Statute there is also given to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, Kings and Queens of this realm, full power and authority, by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England, from time to time, to assign, name, and authorize such person or persons as he or she shall think meet and convenient to exercise, use, occupy and execute, under her Highness, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, pre-eminences and authorities, in anywise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction within this realm.

“ Whereupon our said sovereign Lady, the Queen's most excellent Majesty, hath by her supreme authority, at divers times sithence the beginning of her Majesty's Reign, caused divers and sundry grave and well learned men to be duly elected, made and consecrated Archbishops and Bishops of divers Archbishopricks and Bishopricks within this realm, and other Her Majesty's Dominions and Countries, according to such order and form, with such ceremonies in and about their consecrations as were allowed and set forth by the said Acts, Statutes, and Orders annexed to the said Book of Common Prayer before mentioned. And furthermore for the avoidance of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of the said Archbishops and Bishops, Her Highness, in her Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of England, directed to any Archbishop, Bishop, or others, for the confirming, investing and consecrating of any person elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop, hath not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by the late King Henry and King Edward, Her Majesty's Father and Brother, in their like Letters Patent, made for such causes ; but also hath used and put in Her Majesty's said Letters Patent divers other general words and sentences, whereby Her Highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any wise be objected against the same, as by Her Majesty's said Letters Patent remaining on Record, more plainly may appear. So that to all those that will well consider the effect and true intent of the said Laws and Statutes, and of the supreme and absolute authority of the Queen's Highness, and which she, by Her Majesty's said Letters Patent, hath used and put in use in and about the making and

consecrating of the said Archbishops and Bishops, it is and may be very evident, that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations, or any other material thing meet to be had or used about the same.

“ Wherefore for the plain declaration of all the premisses, and to the intent that the same may the better be known to every of the Queen's Majesty's subjects, whereby such evil speech as heretofore hath been used against the high state of Prelacy may hereafter cease, Be it now declared and enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That the said Act and Statute made in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, whereby the said Book of Common Prayer and the Administration of Sacraments, with other Rites and Ceremonies is authorised and allowed to be used, shall stand and remain good and perfect to all respect and purposes ; and that such order and form for the consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, and for the making of Priests, Deacons, and Ministers, as was set forth in the time of the said late King Edward VI. and added to the said Book of Common Prayer, and authorised by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of the said late King, shall stand and be in full force and effect, and shall from henceforth be used and observed in all places within this realm, and other the Queen's Majesty's dominions and countries.

“ And that all acts and things heretofore had, made or done by any person or persons, in or about any Consecration, Confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the Queen's Majesty's dominions or countries by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's Letters Patent or Commission sithence the beginning of her Majesty's reign, be and shall be by authority of this present Parliament, declared, judged, and deemed at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes ; any matter or thing that can, or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

“ And that all persons that have been, or shall be made, ordered or consecrate Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, or Deacons after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form how Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Ministers should be

consecrated, made and ordered, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers and Deacons, and rightly made, ordered and consecrated; any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding."

No. IX.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

THE XXXVIth of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, as finally agreed upon, A.D. 1562, thirteen years after the publication of the Revised Ordinal, with its Preface, stands as follows :—

“ OF CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS AND MINISTERS.

“ The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering, neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And, therefore, whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book since the second year of the forenamed King *Edward* unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites ; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.”

The XXIIIrd—“ Of Ministering in the Congregation,” also illustrates the subject under consideration :—

“ It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given unto them in the Congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord’s Vineyard.”

No. X.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONSECRATION OF
WILLIAM BARLOW AND JOHN HODGKINS.

*Records concerning the Consecration and Appointment of
William Barlow.**

1. *Commission to Consecrate Barlow, dated the 22nd of Feb. 1538.*

Rex Reverendissimo in Christo patri Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati, salutem. Sciatis quod electioni nuper factæ in Ecclesia Cathedrali Assavensi, per mortem, bonæ memoriæ, Domini Henrici Standishe ultimi episcopi ibidem vacante, de venerabili et religioso viro Dom. Willielmo Barlowe priore Domûs sive Prioratûs de Bisham, ordinis S. Augustini Sarum diœcesis, in Episcopum loci illius et Pastorem, Regium assensum adhibuimus et favorem: Et hoc vobis tenore Præsentium significamus, ut quod vestrûm est in hac parte exequamini. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 22 die Februarii. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. xiv. 559.)

2. *The Restitution of the temporalities of the Bishopric of St. David's, dated the 26th of April, 1536.*

Henricus VIII. etc. Sciatis quòd, quum Cathedralis Ecclesia Menevensis per mortem Richardi Rawlins, nuper episcopi Menev., nuper viduata, ac pastoralis solatio fuerit destituta, et vacaverit, eo prætextu omnes exitus, et proficua, firmæ, redditus, reversiones, cum commoditatibus et emolumentis temporalium episcopatûs illius a tempore mortis prædicti nuper episcopi, durante tempore vacationis episcopatûs illius, nobis jure prærogativæ nostræ regiæ pertinuerunt et spectaverunt, ac pertinere et spectare dignoscuntur; quumque Præcentor et Capitulum dictæ Cathedralis Ecclesiæ post mortem prædicti episcopi, licentiâ nostrâ inde priûs obtentâ, dilectum et fidelem nostrum Willielmum Barlow, nunc dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis per nos nominatum episcopum, in suum elegerunt episcopum et pastorem, reverendiss. in Chr. pater Thomas Archiep.

* *Vide* also Parker's Register at Lambeth, fol. 179-182a, and fol. 205-207a.

Cantuar. electionem illam acceptaverit et confirmaverit, ipsumque sic electum episcopum prædictæ Ecclesiæ Menevensis præfecit et pastorem, sicut per literas patentes ipsius archiepiscopi inde directas nobis constat; Nos nunc certis de causis et considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus, et ob sinceram dilectionem quam penes præfatum nunc episcopum gerimus et habemus, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentés damus et concedimus, pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eidem nunc episcopo, omnia et singula, exitus, firmas, redditus, proficua, reversiones, advantagia, commoditates, feoda, et alia emolumenta quæcunque, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis et dependentiis omnium et singulorum honorum, castrorum, etc. In cujus rei testimonium, etc. Teste Rege, 26 die Aprilis, etc.—(*Mason de Ministerio Anglicano*, lib. iii. cap. 10, p. 365.)

3. *Parliamentary Writ for the year 1536.*

Rex Archiepiscopo Cant.; totius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 27 die Aprilis, Anno Regni sui vicesimo octavo.

Consimilia Brevia diriguntur Episcopo Bangorensi; T.* Episcopo Menevensi; Custodi spiritualitatis Episcopatus. Wintoniensis, ipso Episcopo in remotis agente; etc. (*Rymer's Fædera*, vol. xiv., p. 563, 4.)

4. *Writ for the year 1541, wherein Barlow is named before many Bishops certainly consecrated.*

Rex Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tertio die Novembris, anno Regni sui tricesimo tertio.

Consimilia Brevia diriguntur T. Episcopo Meneven. W. Episcopo Norwicen: R. Episcopo Landaven: J. Episcopo Hereforden: etc. (*Rymer's Fædera*, vol. xiv., p. 737).

5. *Congé d'Eslire for a Bishop for the See of St. Asaph, after the translation of Bishop Barlow, dated the 29th of May 1536.*

Rex dilectis sibi in Christo Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Assavensis, salutem.

Ex parte vestra nobis est humiliter supplicatum ut, cum Ecclesia nostra prædicta, per liberam transmutationem Willielmi Barlowe ultimi Episcopi ibidem electi, sit pastoris solatio desti-

* *Vide* end of this Appendix, p. 382.

tuta, alium vobis eligendi in episcopum et pastorem licentiam concedere dignaremur : Nos, precibus vestris in hac parte favorabiliter inclinati, Licentiam illam vobis tenore Præsentium duximus concedendam ; Mandantes quòd talem vobis eligatis in Episcopum et pastorem qui Deo devotus, Ecclesiæ vestræ necessarius, nobisque et Regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 29 die Maii. *Per Breve de privato sigillo.* (Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. xiv., p. 570).

6. *Commission to consecrate Robert Wharton Bishop of St. Asaph, dated the 24th of June, 1536.*

Rex Reverendissimo in Christo patri Thomæ, eâdem gratiâ, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, salutem.

Cum nuper, vacante sede Episcopali Assavensi per liberam transmutationem Willielmi Barlowe ultimi episcopi ibidem electi, ad humilem supplicationem dilectorum nobis in Christo Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Assavensis, eisdem per Literas nostras Patentes licentiam concesserimus alium sibi eligendi in episcopum loci prædicti et pastorem : Ac iidem Decanus et Capitulum, prætextu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo Robertum Wharton abbatem exempti monasterii S. Salvatoris de Bermondeseye sibi eligerint in Episcopum et pastorem, Nos, electionem illam acceptantes, eidem Electioni Regium Assensum nostrum adhibuimus et favorem, Rogantes, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 24 die Junii. *Per Breve de privato sigillo.* (Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. xiv., p. 570).

7. *Writ of Nomination to the Bishopric of Bath, dated Feb. 26, 1547.*

This Record is inserted entire, because it is the first given in Rymer's Collection by which it appears that the King had appropriated to himself the nomination of Bishops, taking away from the Chapters the right of Election.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Cum per quendam Actum in Parlamento nostro inchoato apud Westmonasterium 4 die Novembris anno Regni nostri primo, ac ibidem tento, inter alia statuta pro Republicâ nostrâ edita, ordinatum enactum et stabilitum fuerit quòd nullum Breve de Licentia Eligendi (vulgariter vocatum *Congé d' Eslier*) deinceps concessum foret, nec electio alicujus Archiepiscopi seu Episcopi per Decanum et

Capitulum fieret ; Sed quòd Nos, per Literas nostras Patentes, quolibet tempore cùm aliquis Archiepiscopus seu Episcopus vacaret, alicui personæ quem nos idoneum existimarem, eundem conferre possemus et valeamus, Et eadem collatio, sic per Literas Nostras Patentes hujusmodi personæ factas et deliberatas, cui Nos in eundem conferremus Archiepiscopatum seu Episcopatum, seu ejus sufficienti Procuratori vel Attornato, staret et foret, ad omnia intentiones constructiones et proposita, tanti et consimilis effectûs quanti et qualis foret, sive Breve de Licentiâ Eligendi concessum, electio rite facta, et eadem confirmata fuissent ; Et quòd, post hujusmodi collationem, eadem persona, cui hujusmodi Archiepiscopus seu Episcopus foret collatus seu datus, posset consecrari, et habere liberationem suam, seu Breve de Amoveas manum, ac omnia alia agere prout eadem ceremoniæ et electiones fuissent factæ et actæ, prout in eodem Statuto plenius liquet ;

Ac cùm Episcopus Bathonien : et Wellen : hoc tempore sit vacuus, suoque idoneo Pastore destitutus, morte Rev. Patris, piæ memoriæ, Willielmi nuper illius loci Episcopi, et ob it ad munus nostrum Regium pertinere dinoscatur alium in ejus locum surrogandum, qui ob eximias animi dotes populum nostrum illius Diœcesis latè Patentis, juxta Divi Pauli normam, dignè pascat ;

Sciatis quod nos, Existimantes Rev. Patrem Willielmum Menev : Episcopum ad Episcopatum prædictum modò vacantem idoneum tam propter singularem sacrarum literarum doctrinam, moresque probatissimos, quibus idem Rev. Pater modò Episcopus Meneven : præditus est, quàm propter hoc quòd juxta Salvatoris nostri elogium judicamus illum virum imprimis dignum esse, ut super multa constituatur, qui super pauca fuerat fidelis, Ex gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento et consensu præcarissimi Avunculi et Consiliarii nostri Edwardi Ducis Somersetiæ, personæ nostræ Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, Dominiorum, Subditorumque nostrorum quorumcumque Protectoris, cæterorumque Consiliariorum nostrorum, Contulimus, dedimus, et concessimus, ac per Præsentes conferimus, damus, et concedimus præfato Rev. Patri Willielmo nunc Menev : Episcopo prædictum Episcopatum Bathon : et Wellen : ac eundem Willielmum in Episcopum Bath : et Well : transferimus per Præsentes, ac ipsum Willielmum Episcopum Bath : et Wellen : ac Diœcesanum Bathon : et Wellen :

prædictæ nominamus facimus ordinamus creamus et constitui-
mus per Præsentes ;

5 Habendum, tenendum, occupandum, et gaudendum prædictum
Episcopatum Bathon : et Wellen : eidem Willielmo, durante vitâ
suâ naturali, unâ cum omnibus dominiis, maneriis, terris,
tenementis, hereditamentis, possessionibus, et jaribus, tam
spiritualibus quàm temporalibus, ac cum omnibus aliis pro-
ficuis, commoditatibus, emolumentis, auctoritatibus, jurisdic-
tionibus et præeminentiis quibuscumque, eidem Episcopatui
Bath : et Well : quoquo modo spectantibus, pertinentibus, sive
incumbentibus ; Eò quòd expressa mentio etc. In cujus rei, etc.
Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium tertio die Februarii. *Per
Breve de privato sigillo.* (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv., pp. 169-170.)

8. *Congé d'eslire to the Bishopric of Bath, Vacant by the Resigna-
tion of Barlow, dated March 13, 1553.*

Regina dilectis nobis in Christo Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ
Cathedralis Wellensis, salutem. Cùm Ecclesia nostra Cathe-
dralis prædicta, per liberam et spontaneam resignationem in
manus nostras ultimi Episcopi ibidem, jam sit Pastoris solatio
destituta ; Nos alium vobis eligendi in Episcopum et Pastorem
duximus concedendum ; Mandantes quòd talem vobis eligatis
in Episcopum et Pastorem, qui sacrarum literarum cognitione
ad id munus aptus, Deo devotus, nobis et Regno nostro utilis
et fidelis, Ecclesiæque nostræ prædictæ necessarius existat. In
cujus rei, etc. Teste Reginâ apud Westmonasterium, 13 die
Martii. *Per Breve de privato sigillo.* (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv.,
p. 369.)

9. *Commission of Queen Mary to consecrate the successor of Barlow
in the Bishopric of Bath, dated March 28, 1554.*

Regina etc. Omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, vel aliis
quibuscumque, quorum in hac parte intererit, salutem.

Vacante nuper sede Episcopali infra Ecclesiam nostram
Cathedralem Wellensem per deprivationem et amotionem ultimi
Episcopi ibidem [*i.e.* Wil. Barlow], Decanus et Capitulum ejusdem
Ecclesiæ (licentiâ prius a nobis per eos alium eligendi in eorum
Episcopum et Pastorem petitâ pariter et obtentâ) discretum
virum Magistrum Gilbertum Bourne, Sacræ Theologiæ Baca-
larium, in eorum Episcopum et Pastorem canonicè elegerunt
et nominaverunt, sicuti per eorum literas, quas vobis mittimus

præsentibus inclusas plenius liquet ; Vobis significamus, etc. Teste Reginâ apud Westmonasterium, 28 die Martii. *Per ipsam Reginam.* (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv., p. 376.)

10. *Writ for the Restitution of the Temporalities of the Bishopric of Bath, dated April 20, 1554.*

Regina Escaetori suo in Comitatu Somersetiæ, salutem.

Vacante nuper Episcopatu Bathon : et Wellen : per liberam resignationem ultimi Episcopi ibidem, Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wellensis prædictæ, licentiâ nostrâ primitus petitâ pariter et obtentâ, dilectum nobis Magistrum Gilbertum Bourne Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalarium in eorum Episcopum et Pastorem elegerunt. Cui quidem electioni et personæ sic electæ Regium assensum nostrum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, ipsiusque Electi fidelitatem, nobis pro dicto Episcopatu debitam, cepimus, ac temporalia Episcopatus illius, prout moris est, restituimus eidem, habenda et percipienda eidem Electo, a tempore vacationis Episcopatus illius.

Et ideo tibi præcipimus, quòd eidem Electo, temporalis prædicta cum pertinentiis in Balliva tua sine dilatione liberes in forma prædicta ; salvo jure cujuslibet.

Teste Reginâ apud Westmonasterium 20 die Aprilis. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv., p. 384.)

11. *Commission given to Parker to confirm Barlow in the See of Chichester, dated December 18, 1559.*

Regina etc. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Dom. Matheo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ Primate et Metropolitano salutem.

Cum, vacante nuper sede Episcopali Cicestrensi per mortem Johannis Christopherson ultimi Episcopi ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Cicestrensis, eisdem per Literas nostras Patentes licentiam concesserimus alium sibi eligendi in Episcopum et Pastorem Sedis prædictæ, iidemque Decanus et Capitulum vigore et obtentu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ dilectum nobis in Christo Magistrum Willielmum Barloo Sacræ Theologiæ Professore, ac nuper Episcopum Bathon : et Wellen : sibi et Ecclesiæ Cicestrensi prædictæ elegerunt in Episcopum et Pastorem, prout per literas suas patentes, sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas, plenius liquet et apparet,

Nos electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus : Rogantes, et, in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus eundem Magistrum Will. Barloo in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrensis prædictæ sic ut præfertur electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastoralis, juxta formam et effectum statutorum in ea parte editorum et provisorum, velitis cum effectu. In cujus rei, etc.

Teste Regina, apud Westmonasterium 18 die Decembris.*
(Pat. 2. Eliz. m. 5, Parker's Register, fol. 205—207a.)

12. *Writ for the Restitution of the Temporalities of the Bishopric of Chichester, granted to Barlow by Queen Elizabeth, March 27, 1560.*

Regina Escaetori suo in Comitatu Middlesexiæ, salutem.

Vacante nuper Episcopatu Cicestrensi, per mortem naturalem Reverendi in Christo Patris Joh. Christoferson ultimi Episcopi ibidem, Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrensis prædictæ, Licentiâ nostrâ petitâ pariter et obtentâ, dilectum Capellanum nostrum Willielmum Barlow Sacræ Theologiæ Professore ac nuper Episcopum Bathon : et Wellen : in eorum Episcopum et Pastorem elegerunt,

Cui quidem electioni et personæ sic electæ Regium assensum nostrum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, ipsiusque fidelitatem nobis debitam pro dicto Episcopatu recepimus, ac temporalia ejusdem Episcopatus (exceptis omnibus maneriis, terris, &c.) ei restituimus per Præsentes ;

Et ideo tibi præcipimus, quòd præfato Electo temporalia prædicta cum pertinentiis (exceptis præexceptis) in Balliva tua, unâ cum exitibus et proficuis inde provenientibus sive crescenti-

* In this Record as published by Rymer, after these words : *electionemque prædictam confirmare*, we read these : *et eundem Magistrum Willielmum Barloo Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare* ; but these last words are not found either in the original Archives, nor in Parker's Register, and it is indisputable from the proofs which have been given, that this clause was transcribed by the Compiler only through inadvertence and oversight. In five similar documents which appear together in Rymer, all the various Bishops except Barlow had to be consecrated, not having been translated : hence the mistake of the scribe in the case of Barlow.

bus a festo S. Michaelis Archangeli ultimò præterito, sine dilatione liberes ; salvo jure cujuslibet.

Teste Reginâ apud Westmonasterium 27 die Martii. (Rymer's *Fœdera* xv., p. 576.)

13. *Acta Consecrationis Ioannis Hodgkins.*

(From folio 204, 204a of Cranmer's Register at Lambeth.)

Literæ Patentes Regiæ pro Consecratione Iohannis Hodgkins, Episcopi Sedis Bedford : Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium tertio die Decembris, anno Regni nostri vicesimo-nono. Per Breve de privato sigillo ; et de dat. prædict : autoritate Parliamenti.

Consecratio Domini Iohannis Hodgkins, Episcopi suffragan : Bedford :

Die Dominico, nono die mensis Decembris anno Domini et Regis prædict : In quodam Sacello infra vestibulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis D. Pauli, London : Reverendus Pater Dominus D. Iohannes London : episcopus, virtute Literarum Commis-sionalium Reverendissimi Patris Domini Thomæ, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi ac Metropolitanì, eidem Reverendo Patri per venerabilem virum Magistrum Ioannem Cocks, Legum Doctorem ipsius Reverendissimi Patris Vicarium in spiritualibus generalem, et Officiale Principalem, præsentatarum, Assistentibus sibi Reverendi Patribus Iohanne Roffen : et Roberto Assaven : Episcopis debitâ cum solemnitate vigore quarumdam Literarum Patentium a Regiâ Majestate nobis in eâ parte directarum, munus Consecrationis Religioso viro Iohanni Hodgskins, Sacræ Theologiæ Professore, ad sedem Suffragan : Bedford : Lincoln : Diocesis, Cantuariensis Provinciæ, in præfatis Literis Patentibus dicti illustrissimi Principis specificè nominato , præstito primitûs per eundem juramento corporali, tactisque per eundem Sacro-sanctis Dei Evangelijs, juxta tenorem juramenti specificati in quodam Statuto Parliamenti, in eâ parte editi, impendebat, eidem que benedixit, ac in Episcopum Suffraganeum sedis prædictæ consecravìt, et eidem insignia episcopalia, modo debito et consecrato contulit. Præsentibus, etc.

14. *Sequitur Intrumentum Archiepiscopi Consecratione prædictâ.*

Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filijs ad quos Præsentes Literæ pervenerint, Thomas, permissione divinâ Cantuar : Archiepisc : totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, Salutem in Domino et fidem indubiam Præsentibus adhibere. Ad univer-

sitatis vestræ notitiam deducimus et deduci volumus per præ-
sentes, quod die Dominico nono die mensis Decembris, anno
millessimo quingentesimo trigesimo septimo, et Regni illus-
trissimi in Christo Principis Domini nostri Domini Henrici
Octavi, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris et
Domini Hybernæ, ac in terris sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ
Capitis supremi, anno vicesimo nono; in quodam Sacello infra
vestibulum Ecclesiæ Cathedr. D. Pauli London: Reverendus*
Confrater Noster Dom. Iohannes London: Episcopus, virtute
Literarum Commissionarium nostrarum, eidem Reverendo
Patri, per Venerabilem virum Magistrum Io. Cockes LL.D.
Vicarium Nostrum in spiritualibus generalem et officialem prin-
cipalem, præsentatarum, assistentibus sibi Reverendis Confra-
tribus nostris Io. Roffens: et Roberto Assaven: episcopis, debitâ
cum solemnitate vigore quarundam Literarum Pat. à Regiâ
Majestate nobis in eâ parte directarum, Munus Consecrationis
Religioso viro Io. Hodgkins, S.T.P. ad sedem Suffragan.
Bedford: Lincoln: diœces. nostræ Cantuar: Provinciæ, in
præfatis Literis Patentibus dicti Illustrissimi Principis specifici
nominato, præstito primitus per eundem juramento corporali,
tactisque per eundem Sacro-sanctis Dei Evangelijs, juxta
tenorem juramenti specificati in quodam statuto Parliamenti
in eâ parte edito, impendebat, eidemque benedixit, ac in Epis-

* An argument having been based on the fact that at the time of the Reformation certain bishops, (as in the above case the Bishop of Rochester,) were styled simply "Reverendus," whereas they ought to have been described as "Reverendissimus," and were consequently not consecrated or not true bishops, the author has taken the substance of the following note from a communication of Prebendary Walcott, to the *Guardian* newspaper:—

"With regard to the respective titles of Deans, Archdeacons, and Bishops it may be safely urged that custom has been by no means uniform in former centuries. At Chichester, Dean Thomas, who died in 1672, is called 'Vir Reverendus:' at Worcester even a Bishop, Dr. Skinner, who died in 1672, is simply styled 'Rev. in Xto Pater,' while Dean Eades, about the same date, is commemorated as 'Reverendissimus vir et dominus.' Another Dean also named Thomas, who died in 1862, is styled on one monument, erected whilst he held the Deanery, 'Reverendus decanus,' and the same person, after he became a Bishop, is styled 'Admodum Reverendus in Christo pater.' At Salisbury, Bishop Ward, who died in 1688, is described as 'Reverendus in Xto pater,' while Bishop Tounson, who died in 1621, is styled 'Reverendissimus.'"—From a Note by the Rev. Muckenzie Walcott, B.D., Prebendary of Chichester.

copum Suffraganeum sedis prædictæ consecravit, et eidem insignia Episcopalia modo debito et consueto contulit.

Datum in Manerio Nostro de Lambeth prædict. nono die mensis Decemb : anno Dom. prædicto, et Nostræ consecrationis anno quinto.

A True Copy.

FREDERICK GEORGE LEE.

(By permission of the Archbishop.)

W. H. WHITLEY,

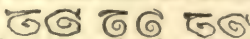
F. R. BOND.

With regard to the Records in Archbishop Cranmer's Register in the Lambeth Library, relating to William Barlow, transcribed by Dr. F. G. Lee, We, the undersigned, can testify that the record of Barlow's appointment to the See of St. Asaph (following documents relating to the appointment and consecration of Edward Fox), commences on folio 179 and ends on folio 182a ; and that the record of Barlow's translation to the See of St. David's begins on folio 205 and ends on folio 207 ; the handwriting in which these appear being the same as that in which other records both before and after are written, and that they are all in the handwriting of the period.

W. H. HALE, Archdeacon of London,
Curator of the Library.

Library, Lambeth Palace,
Oct. 11th, 1869.

S. WAYLAND KERSHAW, M.A.
Librarian in Charge.

Memorandum relating to the Parliamentary Writs for 1536 and 1537, printed with abbreviations on p. 374 of this treatise. In both these writs William Barlow, the Bishop of St. David's, is styled "T. Episc. Meneven." Whether this is a mistake of the scribe who originally prepared the writ, or not, cannot now be determined. The letters "T" and "G" (for Gulielmus) are so much alike, however, as may be seen from the accompanying three examples of these letters  as taken from a sixteenth century MS. that the mistake, whether of the original scribe, or of the transcriber employed by Rymer is easily explained and accounted for.

N.B. For additional documents concerning Barlow which should have appeared on p. 373, see Appendix No. XXIII,

No. XI.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONSECRATION OF SCORY
AND COVERDALE.

1. *Records concerning the Consecration of John Scory.*

THE following accurate transcript of this Record is taken from fol. 333 of Archbishop Cranmer's Register at Lambeth :—

In Oratorio sive capella Manerii sui de Croydon Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis jurisdictionis immediatæ, die Dominica videlicet tricesimo die mensis Augusti, A.D. 1551, sub modo et forma subsequentibus.

Idem Reverendissimus ad hoc tam sacrum munus obeundum, usitatis insignijs redimitus, et uno Epitogio sive capâ holosericâ indutus, Oratorium suum prædictum, honestè et decenter ornatum, ingressus, ad celebrandum Sacro-sanctam Domini Cœnam, uti moris est, ex præscripto libri intitulati, *The Book of Common Service* (est) coram plebe ibidem congregatâ accinctus, inchoatis primitus et publicè recitatis sanctis suffragiis in hac parte deputatis, lectisque in vulgari Epistolâ et Evangelio ad hanc diem designatis; eisque finitis Reverendi Patres Domini Nicolaus London: et Io. Episcopus Suffraganeus Bedford: eidem Reverendissimo in hujusmodi Consecratione assistentes, superpelliceis linteis et capis induti, baculos suos pastores in eorum manibus tenentes, dictum Dominum Io. Scorye consimili habitu indutum, medium inter se ducentes, cum eidem Reverendissimo Patri, in decenti Cathedra sedenti, et ad hujusmodi sacrum Consecrationis munus (ut præmittitur) impartendum accincto præsentabant, et exhibebant sub hujusmodi verborum tenore,

Most Reverend Father in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned man to be consecrated Bishoppe.

Eodem electo mox producente Regias Literas Patentes eidem Reverendissimo Patri directas, hunc complectentes tenorem :—

Edwardus sextus, etc....Teste meipso apud Westm: 27 die Aprilis, Anno Regni nostri quinto. Quibus de Mandato Reverendissimo publicè per Griffinum Leyson L.L.D. Dicti Reverendissimi Patris Cancellarium lectis, ipse Electus tactis Sacro-

sanctis Dei Evangeliiis juramentum præstitit corporale de renuntiando, refutando, et recusando Romano Pontifice, ejusque auctoritati et jurisdictioni usurpatis sub hâc serie verborum

I John Scorye, etc.

Mox tactis denuo eisdem Evangeliiis, qui suprâ electus et consecrandus Canonice obedientie jusjurandum Reverendissimo Archiepiscopus exhibendum sub hâc formâ sequente, præstitit

I John Scorye, etc.

Quibus sic in ordine expeditus, Reverendissimus habuit verba ad populum et plebem, hortando et excitando, omnem Cœtum præsentem ad supplicationes fundendas Altissimo, juxta contentum et ordinem præscriptum in libro Ordinario emanato, sub dat. mensis Martii A.D. 1549. Pro cujus libri serie et tenore sæpè dictus electus fuit ritè et rectè consecratus et Episcopalibus insigniis indutus; præmissa tamen et publicè exposita primitus per Reverendum Patrem London: antistitem, in modum concionis Epist. S. Pauli ad Titum primo capitulo, iis omnibus ad amussim peractis, participataque Communione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi super quâdam mensâ linteo albo coopertâ, tam per dictum Reverendissimum, quàm etiam per dictos assistentes, et dictum consecratum, cæterosque ibidem ministrantes, idem Reverendissimus decrevit scribendum fore venerabili viro Domino Archidiacono Cantuar: pro Investiturâ, Installatione et Inthronizatione dicti Episcopi Roffen: uti moris est. Acta sunt hæc in præsentiiis Antonii Huse, Registrarii principalis dicti Reverendissimi Patris, Petri Lylly, Edwardi Byggs, Iohannis Incent, Notariorum publicorum, etc.

A True Copy,

FREDERICK GEORGE LEE.

W. H. WHITLEY.

F. R. BOND.

2. *Ex Registro Johannis Scory, Lib. B.*

Registrum Reverendi in Christo Patris ac Domini Domini Johannis Divinâ permissione dudum Roffens: Episcopi, et nuper in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cath. Cicestrensis ritè et legitimè nominati et translati, etc.

3. *Acta Installationis ejusdem R. patris.*

Vicesimo nono die mensis Julii 1552. Venerab. vir Iohannes Worthial utriusque juris Baccalaureus ac Archidiaconus Archidiaconatûs Cicestrensis in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali prædictâ, necnon Procurator prænominati Reverendi Patris pro installatione, et inthronizatione ejusdem Reverendi Patris in Ecclesiâ hujusmodi obtinendâ et expediendâ; ad ostium occidentale Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ personaliter constitutus, coram venerabili viro Jacobo Turberville S. T. P. prælibatæ Ecclesiæ Cath. Capituli pro hâc vice Præsidente, et Capitulo ejusdem, ac cæteris Ministris Ecclesiæ hujusmodi tunc ibidem existentibus exhibuit quoddam Procuratorium cujus Procuratorii tenor talis est:

Pateat universis per præsentés quod cum nos Johannes Scory nuper Roffens: Episcopus, ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem Cicestrensem ritè et legitimè nominati et translati, variis tamen nonnullis et arduis negotiis adeò præpediti sumus Itaque expeditioni infra scriptorum in personâ nostrâ commodè interesse non possumus Dilectum igitur nobis in Christo Magistrum Iohannem Worthiall utriusque Juris Baccalaureum, Archidiaconum Cicestrensem, in Ecclesiâ nostrâ Cathedrali Cicestrensi, nostrum verum, legitimum, et indubitatum Procuratorem, Actorem, Factorem, negotiorum nostrorum infra scriptorum Gestorem et Ministrum specialem nominamus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentés; damus et concedimus eidem Procuratori nostro potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale pro nobis, ac vice et nominibus nostro coram Decano, ejusve deputato et Capitulo dictæ nostræ Cathedralis Cicestrens: comparendi, nosque à personali comparatione in hâc parte excusandi, nosque in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrens: et dignitatis Episcopalis ejusdem induci et installari et intronizari petendi et obtinendi, et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi, exercendi et expediendi quæ in præmissis, seu circa ea, necessaria sint vel fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna. In cujus rei testimonium, etc. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Aldingborne 28 die mensis Julii, An. Dom. 1552.

Quo quidem Procuratorio exhibito, publicèque perlecto, ac per Præsidentem et Capitulum antedict. quatenus ad eos attingebat admisso, dictus M. Io. Worthiall petiit se nomine quo

suprà in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem Ecclesiæ Cath. prædictæ admitti, installari et intronizari.

Deinde præfatus Præsident et Capitulum, cum aliis ministris, unà cum dicto Magistro Io. Worthiall Procuratore antedicto intrarunt Ecclesiam ibidem et à dicto ostio occidentali usque ad ostium Chori ejusdem Ecclesiæ euntes, et abhinc per medium Chori usque ad primum gradum procedendo Psalmum *Deus miseretur* in vulgari devotè decantarunt, factaque ibidem genuflexione paulisper per dictum procuratorem precibusque et oratione per præfatum Præsidentem in tali Actu solitis solemniter dictis, providus vir M. Laurentius Woodcocke clericus publicè tunc ibidem exhibuit et legi fecit quasdam literas Commissionales per Ven. virum Edmundum Cranmer Archidiaconum Cantuar: ei directas tenoris sequentis:—

Edmundus Cranmer Archidiaconus Cantuar: ad quem inductio, installatio et intronizatio omnium et singulorum Episcoporum Cantuar: Provinciæ tam de jure et laudabili longævaque et legitimè præscripta consuetudine, quam . . . dignoscitur pertinere, venerabilis viris Magistris Worthiall Archidiacono Cicestrensi et Laurentio Woodcocke Prebendario in eadem Ecclesiâ salutem in Domino sempiternam, etc. Dudum pro parte Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Iohannis Scory nuper Roffensis Episcopi, ad Ecclesiam Cathed. Cicestrensem vacantem in Episcopum et Pastorem ejusdem Ecclesiæ ritè et legitimè *nominati et translati*, fuimus debita cum instantia requisiti, quatenus eundem Rev. Patrem, vel ejus Procuratorem legitimum, in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem Ecclesiæ Cath. Cicestrensis, juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum induceremus, et installeremus, et intronizaremus. Nos vero antefati Reverendi Patris requisitioni et volo annuere volentes vobis, et vestrûm cuilibet, ad inducendum prælibatum Reverendum Patrem seu ejus Procuratorem legitimum, in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem antedictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrensis, juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum conjunctim et divisim committimus vices nostras, et plenam in hac parte tenore præsentium, concedimus facultatem, etc. Datum Londini 28 die mensis Junii An. D. 1552.

Quarum insuper literarum authoritate et vigore præfatus M. Laurentius Woodcocke antedictum Magistrum Io. Worthiall nomine Procuratio dicti Reverendi Patris in sedem Episcopalem

Eccles. Cathedr. prædict. honorifice induxit, installavit et intronizavit, etc.

A True Copy,
W. H. WHITLEY.
F. R. BOND.

4. *Extract from the Register of Bonner, Bishop of London.*

This deed, by which Scory was rehabilitated and restored, practically proves that the directions of the Breve to Cardinal Pole were in this case actually carried out by Bishop Bonner.

EDMUNDUS, permissione Divinâ London: Episcopus, Universis et singulis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentēs literæ nostræ testimoniales pervenerint; ac eis præsertim quos infra scripta tangunt, seu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, salutem in Auctore salutis et fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere. Quia boni Pastoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Christi errantes oves ad caulam Dominici Gregis reducimus, et Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ redeunti gremium non claudit, restituimus: et quia dilectus Confrater noster Ioannes nuper Ciceretren. Episcopus in Dioc. et jurisdictione nostris London: ad præsens residentiam et moram faciens; qui olim laxatis pudicitiae et castitatis habenis, contra Sacros Canones et Sanctorum Patrum decreta ad illicitas et prohibitas convolvavit nuptias; se ea ratione non solum Ecclesiastic. Sacrament. pertractand. omnino indignum; verum etiam a publica officii sui pastoralis functione privatum et suspensum reddens. transactæ licentiosæ vitæ valde pœnitentem et deplorantem, plurimis argumentis se declaravit, ac pro commissis pœnitentiam alias per nos sibi injunctam salutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis sui amaritudine et animi dolore peregit, vitam hactenus degens laudabilem spemque faciens id se in posterum facturum, atque ob id ad Ecclesiasticæ ac Pastoralis Functionis statum, saltem cum quodam nos præmissa ac humilem dicti confratris nostri petitionem pro temperamento, justitia exigentia, reponend. hinc est quod reconciliatione sua. habenda et obtinenda considerantes, ejus precibus favorabiliter inclinati, eundem confratrem nostrum ad publicum Ecclesiastici Ministerii et Officii sui Pastoralis Functionem et Executionem, infra Dioc. nostram London: exercend.

quatenus de jure possumus et absque cujusque præjudicio restituimus, rehabilitavimus et redintegravimus, prout tenore præsentium sic restituimus, rehabilitavimus et redintegramus; Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ clementia et Christiana charitate id exegentibus. Vobis igitur universis et singulis supradictis præfatum confratrem nostrum, sic ut præmittitur restitutum, rehabilitatum et reintegratum fuisse, et esse ad omnes effectus supradictos significamus et notificamus per presentes sigillo nostro sigillat. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Fulham die 14. mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1554, et nostræ Transla. Anno 15.

A True Copy.

F. R. BOND.

5. *The Record of the Consecration of Miles Coverdale.*

THE terms of this Record are identical with those of that which sets forth the consecration of Scory. It stands on fols. 334-6 of Cranmer's Register at Lambeth, and immediately succeeds that of Scory. There is a palpable mistake of the scribe, who has put "Lambehithe, Winton: Dioces." instead of Croydon, where the consecrations took place on the 30th day of August 1551.

In the attestation, the name of John Incent is wanting; though it appears in the Record of Scory's consecration. In both, the names of the consecrators are the same.

6. *From the Register of the Cathedral Church of Exeter.*

THERE are abundant proofs here, over and above those already given, that Dr. Miles Coverdale, one of Archbishop Parker's consecrators, was himself duly consecrated. In the Exeter Register, folios 294-5, is entered the Mandate of Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury, addressed to the Canons of the Cathedral Church of Exeter—because at that period the Deanery was vacant,—ordering them to install and enthrone the Right Reverend Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exon, into the possession of the same Church, which Mandate recites his Consecration in these words:—

"Dudum pro parte Rev. in X^{to} Patris et Dn. Dn. Milonis Coverdale, Exon: Episcopi moderni ad Ecclesiam Cathedralē

Exon: per liberam resignationem Ioannis Voysey ultimi pastoris ibidem vacantem, in Episcopum et Pastorem ejusdem rite et legitime a sua Regia Celsitudine nominati, et a Reverend. in Christo Patr. et Dn. Dn. Thoma, permissione Divinâ Cantuar: Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano consecrati fuimus debita cum instantia requisiti."

The date of the Mandate, perfectly agreeing with that of the Record of his consecration, runs thus:—

"Dat. Londini ultimo die mensis Augusti, Anno Dom. millessimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo, Regnique metuendissimi supradicti Domini nostri Regis Edwardi Sexti anno quinto."

As has been already shown, no Bishop can be installed and enthroned until he has been consecrated. The next entry relating to Bishop Coverdale occurs on folio 293 of this same Register, where is transcribed the certificate of the Chapter, certifying to the Archdeacon that his Mandate in question has been complied with, and obeyed—intimating that they had in pursuance of it formally installed and enthroned Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exon, on the eleventh day of the September following.

Three folios further on, *i.e.*, on folio 296, the Mandate of Miles, Bishop of Exeter, is entered, directed to the President of the Chapter, ordering, empowering, and requiring that James Haddon, the recently-appointed Dean, should be installed into the Deanery of Exeter, the date of which runs thus:—

"Datum sub sigillo Nostro in Palatio Nostro Exon: nono die mensis Julij An. Dom. 1553 regnique Regiæ Majestatis supradictæ anno septimo nostræque Consecrationis anno secundo."

So much for the evidence from the Register of the Dean and Chapter.

7. *From the Register of Bishop Miles Coverdale.*

THIS Register begins with the following title:—

"Registrum Reverendissimi Milonis, permissione Divinâ Exon: Episcopi, incœptum 12 die mensis Septembris anno Dom. 1551, et Consecrationis ipsius Dom. Milonis Epis. primo."

Thus it is seen that the Bishop's personal Register is duly and properly commenced about twelve days after his consecration.

On folios 1 and 2 of this volume occurs a commission granted by Miles, by divine permission, Bishop of Exeter, to Thomas

Herle, for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the date of which runs thus:—

“Dat. Exon: in Palatio Nostro 17 die mensis Septembris. Anno Dom. 1551, regnique Regiæ Majestatis supradictæ anno quinto, et nostræ Consecrationis primo.”

On folios 5 and 6, the Institution of Leonard Bilson to the Prebend of Teinton—dated July 19th 1552, “Nostræ consecrationis anno primo.”

On folios 6 and 7 of the same appears the Mandate for Bilson’s Induction, and bears date the same day, concluding with the words, “Nostræ Consecrationis anno primo.”

On folios 12 and 13, there are Registers of the Ordinations of Miles, Bishop of Exon—the title of which runs thus:—

“Registrum De Ordinibus Reverend. in Christo Patris et Dom. Dom. Milonis, permissione Divinâ Exon: Episcopi celebratis in Diœces. Exon: diebus, annis et locis prout inferius continetur.”

We find ordinations, duly, formally, and regularly held on December 20th. 1551, on the 26th of the same month and year; on the 1st of January 1552; on the 3rd of July 1552; again on the 24th of the same year and month; as also on the 22nd of May, 1553. Some of them were held in the Bishop’s private chapel, and others in the Cathedral Church of Exeter: all are regularly recorded; while in the last entry only (A.D. 1553) the following—“Consecrationis suæ anno secundo” occurs; facts which prove the Consecration of the Bishop himself to have occurred at Croydon at the period set forth in that Record of it, which is preserved in Cranmer’s Register.

No. XII.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONSECRATION OF
PARKER.

THE whole of the documents given *verbatim* in this Twelfth Appendix are taken from the Register of Archbishop Parker at Lambeth.* The volume itself, of a considerable size and bulk, is of vellum sheets. From the style and character of the writing, as well as from the order and care with which an accurate and uniform margin has been preserved throughout, it is clear that the Book was prepared before it was used and filled. The same handwriting which appears in Cranmer's Register appears likewise in this: and occasionally the initials "A. H.," for "Anthony Huse," as in Cranmer's Register, are found appended, from which it is clear that the volume is a contemporary production. It contains Records of the Confirmations and Consecrations of Bishops, Institutions and Inductions of Clergy, Commissions, Visitations, and other formal instruments. These are entered carefully, orderly, according to their date, and in complete harmony both with custom and the law. The volume itself, on the first page, has a whole length heraldic illumination, representing the arms of the Archbishop impaled with those of the See of Canterbury, and surmounted with a mitre. The whole of the introductory paragraph stands in black letter. In the following reprint care has been taken to represent the records in question with their difficult abbreviations and contractions as literally and exactly as can be done with ordinary modern type.

**Registrum Reuerendissimi in Christo Patris et D'ni, D'ni
Matthæi Parker, in Archie'pum Cantuarien. per Decanu. et**

* The only exception to this statement is the Record of Parker's consecration, taken from the Library of C. C. C. Cambridge, added at the end of this Appendix.

Cap't'm. Eccl'ie Cath. et Metropolitice Xpi Cantuarien. p'dict., vigore et auc'te Licentie Regie eis in hac p'te fact., Primo die Mensis Augusti Anno D'ni Millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo nono electi ac p'. Reuerendos P'res D'nos Will'm Barlowe nup. Bathon. et Wellen. Epum, nu'e electum Cicestren. Joh'em Scory dudum. Cicestren. Epum, nu'e electu. Hereforden. Milone. Coverdale quo'da. Exon. Epum, et Joh'em Hodgeskyn Epum suffraganen. Bedforden., vigore L'raru. Commissionaliu. Regiaru. Paten. eis directaru. Nono die Mensis Decembris tunc pror. sequen. confirmati necno. p'. ip'os Reuerendos P'res. Auc'te p'dict. Decimo septimo die eiusdem Me'sis Decembris co'secrati Anthonio Huse armigero tunc Re'grario primario dicti Reuerendissimi P'ris.

CANTUAR.

Acta Habita et Facta in Negocio Confirmac'o'is electionis venerabilis et eximij viri mag'ri Matthei Parker Sacre Theologie Professoris in Archiep'm Cantuarien : electi, Nono die mensis Decembris Anno D'ni Milli'mo quingen°. quinquagesimo nono, et Regni felicissimi illustrissime in Xpo. Principis et D'ne n're, D'ne Elizabethe Dei gr'a Anglie, francie, et Hibernie Regine, fidei defens., etc. anno secundo, in Eccl'ia parochiali Beate Marie de Arcubus London : Eccl'ie Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar : jurisdictionis immediate, coram Reuerendis in Xpo. patribus, D'nis Will'mo quondam Bathon : et Wellen : Ep'o, nunc Hereforden : electo, Milone Coverdale quondam Exon : Ep'o, et Ioh'e Bedforden : Ep'o suffraganeo, median. l'ris Commissionaliibus paten. d'ce illustrissime D'ne n're Regine in hac parte Commissarijs inter alios, cum hac clausula, Quatenus vos aut ad minus quatuor v'rum, etc. Necnon cum hac adiectione Supplentes nihilominus etc. l'time fulcitis, in p'ntia mei francisci Clerke notarij pu^{cl} in actorum scribam in hac parte propter ab'iam mag'ri Anthonij Huse Reg'rarii etc. assumpti prout sequitur, viz.—

Die et Loco predict. inter horas octava. et nonam ante meridiem coram Commissarijs supranotiatis comparuit p'sonal'r Ioh'es Incent notarius pu^{cus} ac p'ntauit eisdem reuerendis d'nis Commissarijs l'ras Commissionales patentes Regias eis in hac parte directas, humil'r supplicando quatenus onus executionis l'rarum Commissionaliu. patentium h'mo'i in se assumere, ac juxta earum continentia. procedend. fore in dicto Confirmationis

ACTA CONFIRMATIONIS ELECTIONIS D'NI MATTHEI PARKER ARCHIEP'RI CANT:

negocio decernere dignarentur. Quibus quidem l'ris Commissionabilibus de Mandato d'corum Commissariorum per eundem Ioh'em Incent pu^{ce} perlectis, iidem Commissarij ob reuerentiam et honorem de'e serenissime D'ne n're Regine, acceptarunt in se onus l'rarum Commissionaliu patentium Regiaru. h'moi, et decreuerunt procedend. fore iuxta vim forma. et effectum earundem. Deinde dictus Ioh'es Incent exhibuit procuratorium suu. pro Decano et Cap't'lo Eccl'ie Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: et fecit se partem pro eisdem, ac no'i'e Procu'rio eorunde. Decani et Capt'li p'ntavit eisdem Commissarijs, venerabilem virum mag'rum Nicholau. Bullinghame Legum doctorem, ac e regione d'corum Commissariorum sistebat. Qui exhibuit Procuratorium suum pro dicto venerabili et eximio viro mag'ro Mattheo Parker Cantur: electo, et fecit se partem pro eodem. Et tunc d'cus Ioh'es Incent exhibuit Mandatum Citatorium originale unacum Certificatorio in dorso super executione eiusdem, et petijt omnes et sing'los citatos pu^{ce} preconizari; ac consequenter facta trina pu^{ca}. preconizatione omniu. et sing'lorum oppositorum ad foras eccl'ie p'och'is de Arcubus predict. et nullo eorum comparente, nec aliquid in hac parte opponen., objicien., vel excipien., d'cus Ioh'es Incent accusavit eorum contumacias, et petijt eis et eorum quemlibet reputari contumaces, ac in pena. contumaciarum suarum h'moi viam ulterius in hac parte opponendi contra d'cam electionem, formam eiusdem, aut p'sona. electam precludi. Ad cuius petic'o'em d'ci d'ni Commissarij pronunciarunt eos contumaces, ac in pena. etc. viam ulterius in hac parte opponendi eis et eorum cuilibet precluserunt. Necnon ad petic'o'em d'ci Ioh'is Incent ad vlteriora in h'mo'i Confirmationis negocio procedend. fore decreverunt, prout in Scheda per prefatu. D'nm Will'mu. Barlow electum Cicestren: de consensu Collegarum suorum lecta plenius continetur. Qua quidem Scheda sic lecta prefatus Ioh'es Incent in p'ntia prefati mag'ri Nicholai Bullinghame procu'ris d'ni electi Cant: anted'ci dedit Summaria. petic'o'em in Scriptis, quam petijt admitti, ad cuius petic'o'em d'ni Commisarij admiserunt d'cam Summariam petic'o'em et assignarunt d'co Incent ad probandum contenta in eadem ad statim. Deinde Incent in subsidium probationis contentorum in d'ca Summaria petitione, exhibuit processu. electionis de p'sona d'ci venerabilis viri, mag'ri Matthei Parker per Decanu. et Cap't'lm Eccl'ie Cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant: predict.

fact. et celebrat., quo per d'nos Commissarios viso, inspecto, et perspecto, iidem D'ni Commissarij ad petic'o'em prefati Ioannis Incent h'mo'i processu. pro lecto habendu. fore et censeri voluerunt et decreverunt, Et tunc d'cus Incent super h'mo'i summaria petitione produxit Ioh'em Baker gener. et Will'mum Tolwyn Artium mag'rum in Testes, Quos d'ni Commissarij ad eius petic'o'em Iureiurando onerarunt, de dicendo veritatem quam nouerint in hac parte, Quibus per me prefatu. ffranciscum Clerke seorsum et Secrete examinatis, eorumq: dictis et Attestationibus ad petic'o'em d'ci Ioh'is Incent per d'nos Commissarios publicatis, et per ip'os visis et inspectis, ip'i d'ni Commissarij ad petic'o'em dicti Incent assignarunt sibi ad proponend. o'ia ad statim. Deinde Incent exhibuit omnia et sing'la per eum in dicto negocio exhibita et proposita quatenus sibi conducunt, et non al'er neq: alio modo, Et tunc d'ni ad petic'o'em Incent assignarunt sibi ad concludend. ad statim, dicto Incent concludente cum eisdem d'nis Commissarijs secu. etiam concludentibus, Qua Conclusionem sic facta dicti d'ni Commissarij ad petic'o'em Incent assignarunt ad audiend. finale decretum siue S'niam diffinitivam ad statim. Consequenter vero facta alia trina preconizatione Oppositorum sic (ut premititur) citatoru., et non comparen. nec quicq: in hac parte opponen., d'ni Commissarij ad petic'o'em Incent pronunciarunt eos et eorum quemlibet contumaces, ac in pena. contumaciaru. suarum h'mo'i decreuerunt procedend. fore ad prolac'o'em S'nie diffinitive siue decreti finalis in hac causa ferend., ip'orum sic citatorum et non comparen. ab'ia siue contumacia in aliquo non obstan. prout in Scheda per memoratum D'nm Will'mum Cicestren: electum de consensu collegarum suorum lecta dilucidius continetur. Hjs itaq: in ordine gestis, ac prestito per mag'rum Nich'um Bullingh'me no'i'e procu'rio prefati d'ni electi Cantuarien: ac in a'i'am ip'ius d'ni electi Iuramento corporali, juxta forma. descripta. in Statut. parlamenti Anno primo Regni d'ce d'ne Regine Elizabethe edit. prefati d'ni Commissarij ad petic'o'em d'ci Incent tulerunt et promulgarunt S'niam diffinitiva. in Scriptis per prefatu. D'nm. Will'mum electum Cicestren: de Consensu collegaru. suorum lectis, pronunciando, decernendo, ceteraq: faciendo prout in eadem continetur. Super Quibus tam prefatus mag'r Nicholaus Bullingh'me quam d'cus Ioh'es Incent me eundem ffranciscum Clerke sibi vnu. vel plura pu^{ca}. seu pu^{ca}. Instrumentum siue

Instrumenta conficere, ac Testes inferius no'i'atos Testimonium inde perhibere petiverunt. Postremo autem d'ci d'ni Commissarij ad petic'o'em tam procuratoris prefati d'ni electi et confirmati quam procu'ris Decani et Cap't'li eccl'ie Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: predict. decreuerunt ip'um Reuerendis-simu. d'nm. electum et confirmatum consecrandum et benedicend. fore, Curamq: Regimen et Administrationem Sp'ualium et Temporalium. d'ci Archie'patus Cantuar. eidem d'no electo et confirmato commiserunt, Ip'umq: in realem, actuaalem, et corporalem possessionem d'ci Archie'patus, Iuriumq: Dignitatu., Honorum, Preeminen. et pertinen. suorum vniuersorum inducend., et intronizand. fore etiam decreuerunt, per decanum et Cap't'lm. eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: predict. aut alium quemcunq: ad quem de Iure et consuetudine id munus dinoscitur pertinere, iuxta eccl'ie Xpi. Cantuar: morem laudabilem, Legibus et Statutis modernis huius incliti Regni Anglie non reclamantem aut aduersantem.

ELIZABETH Dei g'ra Anglie ffrancie et Hibernie Regina, fidei defensor etc. Reuerendis in Xpo. p'ribus Anthonio Landaven: e'po Will'mo Barlo quondam Bathon e'po nunc Cicestren: electo, Iohanni Scory quondam Cicestren: e'po, nunc electo Hereforden: Miloni Coverdale quondam Exon: e'po, Iohanni [Here "Richardo" was first written,] Bedforden: Iohanni Thetforden: e'pis Suffraganeis, Ioh'i Bale Osseren: e'po Sal'tm. Cum vacante nuper Sede Archie'pali Cantuar: per mortem naturalem D'ni Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis vltimi et Immediati Archie'pi et pastoris eiusdem, ad humilem petic'o'em Decani et Cap't'li eccl'ie n're cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien:, eidem per l'ras n'ras patentes L'niam concesserimus, alium sibi eligend. in Archie'pum et pastorem Sedis pred'ce, Ac i'dem decanus et Cap't'lm, vigore et obtent. l'nie n're pred'ce dil'cm. nobis in Xpo. mag'rum Mattheum Parker Sacre Theologie Professore sibi et eccl'ie pred'ce elegerunt in Archie'pum et pastorem, prout per l'ras suas patentes Sigillo eorum communi sigillat. nobis inde directas plenius liquet et apparet, Nos electionem illam acceptantes, eidem Electioni Regiu. n'rum Assensu. adhibuimus pariter et fauorem Et hoc vobis Tenore p'ntium significamus, Rogantes ac in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini firmiter precipiendo mandantes, Quatenus vos aut ad minus Quatuor v'rum eundem Mattheum Parker in Archie'pum

L'RE PA-
TENTES DE AS-
SENSU REGIO
ELECTIONI
ADHIBIT.

et pastorem Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar : pred'cte (sicut prefertur) electum, electionemq : pred'cam confirmare, et eundem mag'rū Mattheum Parker in Archie'pum et pastorem Eccl'ie pred'ce consecrare, Ceteraq : omnia et singula peragere que v'ro in hac parte incumbunt Officio Pastoralī, iuxta formam Statutorum in ea parte editorum et prouisorum velitis cum effectu. Supplentes nihilominus Suprema auc'te n'ra Regia ex mero motu et certa Scientia n'ris Si quid aut in hijs que iuxta Mandatum n'rum pred'cum per vos fient, aut in vobis aut v'rum aliquo, Conditione, Statu, facultate, v'ris, ad Premissa p'ficiend. desit, aut deerit, eorumque per Statuta huius Regni n'ri, aut per Leges eccl'iasticas in hac parte requiruntur, aut n'ce'ria sunt, Temporis Ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante. In cuius Rei Testimonium has l'ras n'ras fieri fecimus patentes. T. meip'a apud Westm. sexto Die Decembris Anno Regni n'ri Secundo. Ha. Cordell.

“ Wee whose names be heare subscribid, thinke in our judgementes, that by this Commission in this forme pennid as well the Quenes Ma^{tie}, may lawfully auctorize the p'sons within namid to theeffecte specified as the said p'sons maye exercise the acte of confirminge and consecratinge in the same to them committid.

OPINION
OF CANON
LAWYERS.

WILL'AM MAYE,
ROBERT WESTON,
EDWARD LEEDES,

HENRY HARVEY,
THOMAS YALE,
NICHOLAS BULLINGHAM.”

Pateat vniuersis per p'ntes, Q'd nos decanus et Cap't'lm. Eccl'ie Cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien : in Domo n'ra Cap't'lari, cap't'lariter congregati de vnanimi Assensu et Consensu n'ris Dilectos nobis in Xpo. mag'rū Will'mum Darrell cl'icum in Artibus mag'rū eccl'ie cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant : predict. Canonieu, et Prebendarium, Anthonium Huse armigerum, Ioh'em Clarke et Ioh'em Incent Notarios pu^{cos}. co.^m et di.^m n'ros veros, certos, l'timos ac indubitatos procu'res, actores, factores, negociorumq : n'rorum gestores, et nuncios Sp'iales ad infrascripta, no'i'amus, ordinamus, facimus, et constituimus per p'ntes ; damusq : et concedimus eisdem procu'ribus n'ris co.^m et eorum cuilibet (vt prefertur) per se di.^m. et insolid., p'tatem generalem, et Mandatu, speciale pro nobis et no'ibus n'ris, venerabilem et eximiu, virum

PROCURA-
TORIU. DECANI
ET CAP'T'LI
CANTUAR :

mag'rūm Mattheum Parker Sacre Theologie Professore in Archiepūm et pastorem d'ce Eccl'ie Cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant : per nos electum, seu eius procuratorem l'timū., Temporibus et Locis congruis et oportunis adeundi, Ip'umq : ex parte n'ra, ad consentiend. electioni de p'sona sua facte et celebrate debita cum Instantia petend. et requirend., Necnon electionem h'mo'i per nos de p'sona prefati Mag'ri Matthei Parker (vt prefertur) factam et celebrata., excellentissime in Xpo. Principi et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethe dei gr'a Anglie, ffrancie, et Hibernie Regine fidei defens. etc. d'ce eccl'ie fundatrici et p'rone intimandi et notificandi, ac eius Consensu, et Assensu. regio in ea parte humil'r implorand., Ac decretum electionis pred'ce, et p'sonam per nos (vt premittitur) electam, coram quibuscunq : p'sonis Regia auc'te in hac parte l'time fulcitis p'ntandi et exhibendi, Dictumq : decretum siue processum electionis pred'ce, et persona, sic (vt premittitur) electam, in debita Iuris forma confirmari et approbari, defectusq : (si qui forsā in hac parte interuenerint) debite suppleri petend. requirend., et impetrand., agendiq : et defendend. ac litem seu lites contestand., et contestari vidend., Articulu. siue Artic'los, Libellu. siue libellos, seu quascunq : Summarias petic'o'es dand. et proponend., Testes, l'ras, et Instrumenta ac alia quecunq : probationum genera producend. et exhibend., Testesq : h'mo'i iurari vidend. et audiend., In causa seu causis concludend. et concludi vidend., d'cumq : Confirmationis negociu. vsq : ad finalem expedic'o'em eiusdem inclusiue proseguend., Necnon Administrationem omniu. et sing'lorum Sp'ualium et Temporalium. d'ci Archiepatus Cantuar : eidem electo committi, Ip'umque in realem, actuaalem, et corporalem possessionem eiusdem Archiepatus, Iuriumq : dignitatu., honoru., preeminen. et pertinen. suorum vniuersorum inducend. et intronizand. fore decerni petend., requirend. et obtinend. Et general'r omnia et Sing'la alia faciend., exercend., et expediend., Que in premissis et circa ea n'cc'ria fuerint seu q'mo'l't oportuna, etiamsi mandatum de se magis exigant speciale quam Superius est expressum, Promittimusq : nos ratum, gratū., et firmū. perpetuo habituros Totum et Quicquid ip'c procu'res n'ri, seu eorum aliquis fecerint seu fecerit in premissis vel aliquo premissorum, et in ea parte Cautionem exponimus per p'ntes. In cuius Rei testimoniu. Sigillum n'rum (Quo in p'nti vacatione Sedis Archiepalis Cantuarien : predict. vtimur) p'ntibus apponi fecimus. Dat. in Domo n'ra Cap'tlari

Tertio die mensis Augusti, anno d'ni Mill'imo, Quingene, Quinquagesimo Nono.

Procure Sacre Theologie Professor in Archie'pum Eccl'ie
dicti d'ni Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: per vener-
electi. abiles et eximios viros decanu. et Cap't'lm eccl'ie pred'ce rite et
l'time electus, dil'cos mihi in Xpo. mag'ros Willmu. May,
decanu eccl'ie cath'is Divi Pauli London, et Nicholau. Bulling-
hame Legum doctorem, co^m et di^m meos veros, certos, l'timos ac
indubitatos procu'res, actores, factores, negociorumq: meorum
gestores, et nuncios Speciales ad infrascripta no' i'o, ordino,
facio, et constituo per p'ntes, Doq: et concedo eisdem procura-
toribus meis co^m et eorum vtriq: (vt prefetur) p'. se di^m et
insolid. p'tatem generalem et mandatum Speciale pro me ac
vice, loco, et no'i'e meis coram Reuerendis in Xpo. p'ribus et
d'nis, Will'mo quondam Bathon: et Wellen: e'po, nunc Cices-
tren: electo Ioann° Scory quondam Cicesteren: e'po, nunc electo
Hereforden: Milone Coverdale quondam Exon: e'po et Ioh'e
Bedforden: e'po Suffraganeo, Serenissime in Xpo. Principis et
d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethe Dei gr'a Anglie, francie, et Hibernie
Regine fidei defens. etc., ad Infrascripta Commissarijs cum hac
clausula viz—vnacu. dnis Iohanne Thetforden. Suffraganeo et
Ioh'e Bale Osseren: e'po, et etiam hac clausula, Quatenus vos
aut ad minus Quatuor v'rum, etc. necnon et hac adiectione,
Supplentes nihilominus, etc. special'r et l'time deputatis com-
parendi, meq: a p'sonali Comparie'o'e excusand., ac ca'am et
ca'as ab'ie mee h'mo'i allegand., et proponend., ac (si opus fuerit)
fidem desuper faciend. et iurand., Electionemq: de me et p'sona
mea ad d'cm. Archie'patu. Cantuarien: per prefatos Decanu.
et Cap't'l'm. Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar:
factam et celebratam per eosdem Commissarios regios approbari
et confirmari, meq: in Archiepresulem Cantuarien: predict.
recipi et admitti, Atq: in realem, actuaalem, et corporalem
possessionem d'ci Archie'patus Cantuarien: Iuriumq: et per-
tinen. suorum vniuersorum induci, et intronizari petend. requi-
rend. et impetrand., decretaq: quecunq: in hac parte n'ce'ria
et oportuna ferri et interponi petend. et obtinend., Iuramentum
insuper tam de fidelitate, subiectione et ob'ia dicte Serenissime
d'ne n're Regine Elizabetha, heredibusq: et Succ'. suis pre-
stand. et exhibend., necnon de renunciando, recusando, et re-
futando o'em et o'i'odam auc'tem, p'tatem, Iurisdictionem, et

Superioritatem forinsecas et extraneas, secundum vim, forma., et effectum Statutorum huius ineliti Regni Anglie in hac parte editorum et prouisorum, Quam etiam aliud quodecunq; Sacramentu. licitum et honestum, ac de Iure, Legibus, et Statutis huius Regni Anglie in hac parte q'mo'l't requisit. in a'i'am meam et pro me prestand., subeund. et iurand.; Et general'r omnia et sing'l'a alia faciend. exercend., exequend. et expediend. que in premissis aut circa ea n'cc'ria fuerint seu q'mo'l't oportuna, etiamsi Mandatum de se exigant magis Speciale quam superius est expressum, promittoq: me ratum, gratu., et firmu. perpetuo habiturum, totum et quicquid d'ci procur'es mei se eorum aliquis fecerint seu fecerit in premissis vel aliquo eorundem, sub ypotheca et obligatione om'iu. et sing'l'orum Bonorum meorum tam p'ntium quam futuroru., et in ea parte Cautionem expono per p'ntes. In cuius Rei Testimonium Sigillu. venerabiliu. virorum D'norum Decani et Cap't'li Ecel'ie Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: presentibus affigi procurau. Et Nos Decanus et Cap't'lm antedict. ad Rogatum dicti Constituentis Sigillu. n'rum h'mo'i p'ntibus apposuimus. Dat. septimo die mensis Decembris Anno D'ni Mill'imo, Quingeng, Quinquagesimo nono, Regniq: felicissimi d'ce Serenissime D'ne n're Regine Elizabethe Anno Secundo.

CANTUARII quondam Bathon: et Wellen: e'pus,
nunc Cicestren: electus, Ioh'es Scory quondam
Cicestren: e'pus, nunc electus Hereforden: Milo
Coverdale quondam Exon: e'pus et Iohannes Bed-
forden. e'pus, median. l'ris Commissionaribus paten. illustris-
sime in Xpo. principis et d'ne n're d'ne Elizabethe Dei gr'a
Anglie, ffrancie, et Hibernie Regine, fidei defens. etc. vnacum
hac Clausula viz. vnacu. d'nis Iohanne Thetforden: Suffraganeo,
et Ioh'e Bale Osseren: e'po et etiam hac clausula, Quatenus
vos, aut ad minus Quatuor v'rum etc. necnon et hac adiectione,
Supplentes nihilominus etc. nobis directis l'time fuleiti,
Vniuersis et sing'lis d'ce d'ne n're Regine Subditis per vniuer-
sum Anglie Regnum vbilibet constitutis Sal'tm. Cum vacante
nuper sede Archie'pali Cantuarien:, per mortem naturalem d'ni
Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis vltimi et immediati Archie'pi eiusdem,
Decanus et Cap't'lm eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantur:
predict. pro electione noui et futuri Archie'pi et pastoris
eiusdem eccl'ie (L'nia Regia primitus in ea parte petita et
obtenta) celebrand., certum Terminu. prefixerint, et assignaue-

CITATIO
CONTRA OPPOSI-
TORBS, ETC.

rint, Atq : in h'mo'i electionis negocio, Termino ad id Statuto et assignato rite procedentes, venerabilem virum, mag'rū Mattheum Parker Sacre Theologie Professore in eorum et d'ce Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant. Archiepresulem eligerrint, Cumq : d'ca Serenissima D'na n'ra Regina ad humilem Petic'o'em dictorum Decani et Cap't'li eidem electioni de p'sona prefati electi vt premittitur facte et celebrate, et p'sone electe, Regium suum adhibuerit assensu., pariter et fauorem, prout per easdem l'ras suas patentes, magno Sigillo suo Anglie sigillat. nobis significauerit, Mandando, quatenas p'sona. electam, et electionem h'mo'i confirmare, et eundem Mattheu. in in Archie'pum Cantur : consecrare, iuxta formam Statuti in ea parte editi et prouisi velimus cum omni Celeritate accommoda, prout per easdem l'ras patentes regias (ad quas h'atur relatio) plenius liquet et apparet, Nos vero volentes eiusdem Serenissime d'ne n're Regine Mandatis pro Officii n'ri debito parere, ac in h'mo'i Confirmationis negocio iuxta Iuris et Statutoru. huius incliti Regni Anglie exigentia. procedere, omnes et sing'los (si qui essent) Qui contra d'cam electionem, seu forma. eiusdem, p'sonamue electam, dicere, vel opponere voluerint, ad Diem, locum, et effect. subscriptos euocand. et citand. fore decreuimus, Justicia id poscente, Vobis ig'r co^m et di^m commitimus et firmiter iniungendo mandamus, Quatenus citetis seu citari faciatis peremptorie, pu^{ce} altaq : et intelligibili voce infra eccl'iam P'och'em beate Marie de Arcubus London, eccl'ie Xpi. Cantuar : Jurisdictionis immediate, Necon per affixionem p'ntium in aliquo loco conuenienti infra eccl'iam p'och'em predictam, vel in aljs locis publicis vbi videbitur expediens, omnes et sing'los oppositores (si qui sint) in Specie, alioquin, in genere, Qui contra d'cam electionem, formam eiusdem, p'sonamue in hac parte electam dicere, obijcere, excipere, vel opponere voluerint, Q'd compareant coram nobis in eadem eccl'ia de Arcubus, die Sabbati prox. futur. viz :—nono die p'ntis mensis Decembris inter horas octava. et Nona. ante meridiem eiusdem diei, cum continuatione et prorogatione diernm extunc sequen. et Locorum si oporteat, contra electionem h'mo'i, forma. eiusdem, et p'sona. in ea parte electam (si sua putauerint interesse) dictur. exceptur. et propositur., factur'q : vltcrius et receptur. quod Iusticia in hac parte suadebit, et d'ci negotii Qualitas et natura de se exigunt et requirunt, Intimantes insuper modo et forma prerecitatis omnibus et sing'lis oppositor. (Si qui sint)

in Specie, alioquin in genere, Quibus nos etiam harum Serie sic intimamus Q'd siue ip'i sic citati dictis die, hor. et Loco coram nobis comparuerint, et contra dictam electionem, forma. eiusdem, p'sonamue in hac parte electam, objicere, excipere vel opponere curauerint siue non, Nos nihilominus in d'co negocio (iuxta Iuris et Statutorum in ea parte editorum exigentiam) procedemus, et procedere intendimus, ip'orum sic citatoru. et non comparen. ab'ia siue contumacia in aliquo non obstan. Et quid in premissis feceritis Nos dictis die, hor. et loco debite certificetis seu sic certificet ille v'rum qui p'ns n'rum Mandatum fuerit executus prout decet. In cuius Rei Testimoniu. Sigillu. venerabiliu. virorum D'nor. decani et Cap't'l Eccl'ie Cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantur: quo in p'nte vacatione vtuntur, p'ntibus affigi roga uimus. Dat. Londini sexto die mensis Decembris Anno d'ni Mill'imo Quingen°. [LIX° in the margin of the leaf.]

Nono Die mensis Decembris Anno d'ni Mill'imo- Quingen°, quinquagesimo, nono in eccl'ia p'ochiali beate Marie de Arcubus London, Eccl'ie Xpi. Cant: Jurisdictionis immediate coram commissarijs regijs retrono'i'atis, comparuit p'sonal'r Thomas Willet notarius pu^{cus} mandatarius in hac parte l'time deputatus, et certificauit se septimo die mensis Decembris jam currentis executum fuisse p'ns mandatum in eccl'ia p'ochiali de Arcubus predict. iuxta forma. inferius descript. super quibus fecit fidem.

In Dei No'i'e Amen. Nos Will'mus quondam Bathon: et Wellen: e'pus, nu'e electus Cicestren: Ioh'es Scory quondam Cicestren: e'pus, nu'e Hereforden: electus, Milo Coverdale quondam Exon: e'pus et Io'annes Bedforden: e'pus, Serenissime in Xpo. Principis et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethe Dei gr'a Anglie, francie, et Hibernie Regine fidei defens. etc. median. l'ris suis Regijs Commissionibus paten. and Infrascripta Commissarij cum hac clausula viz—vnacu. d'nis Ioh'e Thetforden: Suffraganeo et Ioh'e Bale Osseren: e'po, et etiam hac clausula, Quatenus vos aut ad minus Quatuor v'rum etc. Necnon et hac adiectione Supplentes nihilominus etc. Special'r et l'time deputati In negocio Confirmationis electionis de p'sona venerabilis et eximij viri mag'r'i Matthei Parker Sacre Theologie Professoris in Archie'pum Cantuar: electi, facte, et celebrate rite et l'time procedentes, Omnes et sing'los Oppositores, Qui contra d'cam electionem, forma.

PRIMA SCHE-
DULA LECTA
CONTRA OPPOSI-
TORES.

eiusdem, aut p'sonam electam dicere, excipere vel opponere voluerint, ad comparand. coram nobis istis Die, hor. et loco (Si sua putauerint interesse) contra d'cam electionem, forma eiusdem aut p'sonam electam in debita Iuris forma dictur., exceptur. et propositur., l'time et peremptorie citatos sepius puce precognizatos, diuq: et sufficienter expectatos, et nullo modo comparantes, ad petic'o'em procu'ris et [*et erased*] Decani et Cap't'li Cant: pronu'ciamus contumaces, ac ip'is et eorum cuilibet in penam Contumaciaru. suarum h'mo'i, viam vlterius opponendi contra d'cam electione., forma. eiusdem, aut p'sonam sic electam h'mo'i precludimus in hijs Scriptis ac etiam decernimus ad vlteriora in dicto Confirmationis negocio procedend. fore iuxta Iuris et Statutorum huius Regni Anglie exigentia, Ip'orum Contumac. in aliquo non obstan.

In Dei No'i'e Amen. Coram vobis Reuerendis in Xpo. p'ribus et d'nis, D'nis Will'mo nuper: Bathon: Wellen. e'po, nunc electo Cicestren:, Io'he Scory quondam Cicestren: e'po. nunc electo Hereforden:, Milone Coverdale quonda. Exon: e'po et Ioh'e Bedforden: e'po. Sere-nissime in Xpo. Principis et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethe die gr'a Anglie, ffraucie, et Hibernie, Regine, fidei defens. etc. median. l'ris suis regijs Commissionalibus paten. ad Infrascripta Commissarijs cum hac clausula, viz:—vnacu. d'nis Ioh'e Thetforden: Suffraganeo, et Ioh'e Bale Osseren: e'po, et etiam hac clausula, Quatenus vos, aut ad minus Quatuor v'rum etc. necnon et hac adiectione, Supplentes nihilominus etc. Special'r et l'time deputatis, pars venerabilium virorum decani et Cap't'li eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: dicit, allegat, et in hijs Scriptis ad omnem Iuris effectum exinde sequi valentem, per via. Summarie petitionis in Iure proponit, artic'latim prout sequitur.

Imprimis viz.:—Q'd Sedes Archie'palis eccl'ie cath. Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: predictae, per obitum bone memorie d'ni Reginaldi Cardinalis Pole nu'cupati vltimi Archie'pi Cantuarien: nuper vacare cepit, et aliquandiu vacauit, pastorisq: Solatio caruit, hocq: fuit et est veru., pu^{ca}, notoriu., manifestum, pariter et famosum, et ponit, co^m di^m ac de quolibet.

Item Q'd d'ca Sede Archie'pali Cantuarien: (vt premittitur) dudu. vacan., ac corpore d'ci d'ni Reginaldi Pole eccl'iastice tradito sepulture, Decanus et cap't'lm. eccl'ie cath'is et Metro-

politice anted'ce cap't'lariter congregat. et Cap't'lm. facientes, (L'nia Regia primitus ad it petita et obtenta) certu. diem, ac domu. sua. Cap't'larem Cantuarien.; ad electionem futuri Archie'pi Cantuarien: celebrand. vnanimiter et concorditer prefixerunt, ac omnes et sing'los eiusdem eccl'ie Canonicos et Prebendarios Ius, voces aut interesse in eadem electione habentes vel habere pretendentes, ad diem et Locum predict. in h'mo'i electionis negocio processur. et procedi visur. l'time et peremptorie citari fecerunt hocq: fuit et est verum, pu^{cu}. etc. Et ponit ut supra.

Item Q'd prefati decanus et Cap't'lm die, et loco prefixis viz:—primo die Mensis Augusti vltimo preterit. cap't'lariter congregati et plenu. Cap't'lm facientes, Seruatis primitus per eos de Iure, et d'ce eccl'ie Consuetudine Seruandis, vnanimiter et concorditer nullo eorum contradicente, ad electionem futuri Archie'pi eccl'ie memorate per viam seu forma. Compromissi procedend. fore decreuerunt, illamq: via. seu forma. vnanimiter assumpserunt, et elegerunt, Necnon in venerabilem virum mag'rū Nicholau. Wotton utriusq: Juris Doctorem d'ce eccl'ie cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant: decanu., sub certis in processu eiusdem electionis expressatis Legibus et Conditionibus compromiserunt, promitten. se illum acceptatur. in eorum et d'ce eccl'ie Archie'pm., Quem d'cus Compromissarius sub Legibus et Conditionibus pred'cis, duxerit elegend. et prouidend. Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd dictus Compromissarius onus Compromissi h'mo'i in se acceptans, matura deliberatione apud se habita, Votum suu. in venerabilem et eximiu. virum mag'rū Mattheum Parker Sacre Theologie Professore[m] direxit, Ip'umq: in Archie'pum et pastore. eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant. predictae iuxta et secundu. p'tatem sibi in ea parte concessam et Compromissionem pred'cam elegit, et eccl'ie memorate de eodem prouidebat. Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd omnes et singuli d'ce eccl'ie Canonici et Prebendarij in domo Cap't'lari predict. tunc p'ntes plenu. Cap't'lm constituentes, electionem per eundem mag'rū Nicholaum Wotton, Compromissarium anted'cum (vt premittitur) factam acceptarunt et approbarunt, ac rat. et grat. habuerunt pariter et accept. Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd electio h'mo'i et p'sona electa die prenotato in eccl'ia Metropolitana Xpi: Cantuar. predict. coram Clero et

populo tunc in Multitudine copiosa ib'm congregat. debite publicat. et declarat. fuerunt, Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd d'eus Reuerendissimus d'ns. electus, h'mo'i electioni de se et p'sona sua (vt premittitur) facte et celebrate ad humilem petic'o'em eorundem decani et Cap't'li consentijt, debitis Loco et tempore requisitus, ac Consensu. et Assensu. suos eidem prebuit in Scriptis per eum lectis. Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd prefatus mag'r Mattheus Parker, fuit et est vir providus et discretus, l'rarum Sacraru. eminente Scientia, vita et moribus merito commendatus, liber et de l'timo m'rimonio procreatus, atq: in etate l'tima et in ordine Sacerdotali constitutus, necnon deo deuotus et eccl'ie memorate apprime n'cc'rius, ac d'ce d'ne n're Regine, Regnoq: suo et Reipublice fidelis et vtilis. Et ponit ut supra.

Item Q'd prefati Decani et Cap't'lm., h'mo'i electionem et p'sona. electam prefate Serenissime d'ne n're Regine per l'ras suas patentes Sigillo eorum co'i et Cap't'lari roboratas pro Officij sui debito, iuxta Statutu. huius Regni Anglie, significarunt, et intimarunt, Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd p'ntato pro parte decani et Cap't'li antedict. eidem Regie sublimitati processu, electionis h'mo'i, eadem Benignissima d'na n'ra Regina, pro sua Clementia regia, h'mo'i electioni de p'sona prefati venerabilis viri mag'ri Matthei Parker (vt premittitur) facte et celebrate, Consensum et Assensu. suos Regios gratiose adhibuit et adhibet, illamq: gratam habet, Hocq: fuit et est etc. Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd d'ca Serenissima d'na n'ra Regina vobis Reuerendis p'ribus anted'cis de Assensu et Consensu suis Regijs, h'mo'i electioni (vt premittitur) adhibitis per l'ras suas patentes vobis inscriptas et direct. non solu. significauit, verumetiam earundem l'rarum suarum paten. Serie vobis rogando mandauit, Quatenus vos electionem pred'cam et eundem electum confirmare, ip'umq: e'palibus Insignijs insignire, et decorare, Ceteraq: peragere que v'ris in hac parte incumbunt Officijs pastoralibus iuxta forma. Statuti in ea parte editi et prouisi et l'rarum patentium h'mo'i velitis cum fauore. Et ponit vt supra.

Item Q'd premissa omnia et sing'la fuerunt et sunt vera, pu^{ca}, notoria manifesta, pariter et famosa, atq: de et super eisdem laborarunt et in p'nti laborant pu^{ca} vox et fama, unde

facta fide de Iure in hac parte requisita, ad quam faciend. offert se pars dictorum Decani et Cap't'li prompt. et parat. pro Loco et Tempore congruis et oportunis, petit, eadem pars prefatam electionem et p'sonam electam confirmand. fore decerni, et cum effectu confirmari, iuxta Iuris et Statutorum huius Regni Anglie exigentiam, necnon et l'rarum regiarum Commissionarium patentium predict. vobis in hac parte direct. Seriem, Curamq: Regimen, et Administrationem Archie'patus Cantuar: eidem electo committi, Ip'umq: in realem, actuaalem, et corporalem possessionem d'ci Archie'patus Cantuar: Iuriumq: honorum, dignitatu., preeminen. et pertinen. suorum vniuersorum inducend. et intronizand. fore decerni, vltcriusq: fieri et statui in premissis ad ea concernen. quibuscunq: in hac parte interuenien. iuxta facultatem vobis concessam, Que proponit et fieri petit pars ista proponens co^m et di^m non arctand. se ad omnia et sing'la premissa proband., nec ad onus Superflue probationis de quo protestatur, Sed quatenus probauerit in premissis, eatenus obtineat in petitis, Iuris Beneficio et d'ce d'ne n're Regine gr'a Speciali in omnibus semp'. saluis. V'rum Officium d'ni Iudices antedict. humil's implorum.

Excellentissime Serenissime, et Invictissime in Xpo. Principi, et d'ne n're Elizabethe Dei gr'a Anglie, francie, Hibernie Regine, fidei defens. etc. PROCESSUS
ELECTIONIS. Vestri humiles et deuoti Subditi Nicholas Wotton utriusq: Iuris Doctor, decanus eccl'ie cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: et eiusdem eccl'ie Cap't'lm., omnimodas ob'iam, fidem, et Subjectionem, gra'm perpetuam et felicitatem in eo per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur. AD vestre Serenissime Regie Maiestatis Noticia. deducimus et deduci volumus per p'ntes Q'd vacante nuper Sede Archie'pali Cantuarien: predict. per obitum bone memorie R^{mi} in Xpo. p'ris et d'ni, d'ni Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis, vltimi et immediati Archiepresulis et pastoris eiusdem, nos Decanus et Cap't'lm. antedict. habita prius L'nia v're excellentissime Maiestatis, ne eadem eccl'ia cath'is et Metropolitana per sua. diutina. vacationem grauius pateretur Incommoda, ad electionem futuri Archie'pi et pastoris eiusdem procedere volentes, vicesimo secundo die mensis Julij vltimi preterit. in domo n'ra Cap't'lari eccl'ie memorate cap't'lariter congregati et Cap't'lm. ib'm facientes diem Martis viz. primu. Diem p'ntis mensis Augusti, ac hor. nona. et decimam ante meridiem

eiusdem diei, ac domu. Cap't'larem predict. cum Continuatione et prorogatione Dierum et hor. extunc sequen. et Locorum (si oporteat) in ea parte fiend., nobismetip'is tunc ib'm p'ntibus, et alijs eiusdem eccl'ie canonicis et prebendarijs absentibus, Ius, voces, aut Interesse in electione futuri Archie'pi eccl'ie memorate habentibus seu habere pretendentibus futuri Archie'pi et pastoris prefate eccl'ie (diuina fauente clementia) celebrand. pro Termino et Loco competen. prefiximus et assignauimus, Ad quos quidem diem hor. et domu. Cap't'larem an'dict. omnes et sing'los Canonicos pred'ce eccl'ie Jus, voces, aut Interesse in h'mo'i electione et electionis negotio habentes in Specie, ceterosq: omnes alios et sing'los (Si qui essent) qui de Iure seu Consuetudine in hac parte Ius et interesse habere pretenderent in genere, ad procedend. et procedi vidend. nobiscum in eodem electionis negotio, ac in omnibus et sing'lis Actis vsq: ad finalem expedic'o'em eiusdem, iuxta morem antiquu. et laudabile. Consuetudine. eccl'ie pred'ce in hac parte ab antiquo vsitat. et inconcusse observat. l'time et peremptorie, citandos, et euocandos, et monendos fore decreuimus, et in ea parte l'ras Citatorias fieri in forma efficaci valida, et assueta, fecimus, Necnon p'tatem et Mandatum dil'co nobis in Xpo. Nicholao Simpson in ea parte commisimus, Cum intimatione, Quod siue ip'i sic citati in h'mo'i electionis negotio die hor. et Loco pred'eis comparuerint sine non, Nos nihilominus in eodem negotio procederemus et procedere intenderemus, ip'orum citatorum ab'ia siue Contumacia in aliquo non obstan.

Quo quidem die Martis viz. primo die mensis Augusti adueniente, inter horas prius assignatas, Nos decanus et Cap't'lm. an'dict. (Campana ad Cap't'lm. celebrand. primitus pulsata) domum Cap't'larem eccl'ie cath'is pred'ce ingressi et Cap't'lm. ib'm celebrantes, in Dilecti nobis in Xpo. Iohannis Incent Notarij pu^{ci} ac Testium inferius no'i'atorum p'ntijs. L'niam v're Serenissime Regie Mat^{is} supradict., Necnon l'ras Citatorias de quibus supra fit Mentio, vnacu. Certificatorio super executione earundem per Nicholau. Simpson Mandatarium n'rum an'd'cum, coram nobis tunc et ib'm introductas et exhibitas pu^{co} perlegi fecimus, Quarum quidem L'nie, l'rarum Citatariorum, et Certificatorij Tenores de verbo ad verbum sequuntur et sunt tales,—Elizabeth Dei gr'a Anglie, ffrancie, et Hibernie Regina, fidei Defens. etc. Dilectis nobis in Xpo. Decano et Cap't'lo eccl'ie Metropolitice Cantuar:

Salutem. Ex parte v'ra nobis est humil'r supplicatum, Vt cum eccl'ia predicta, per mortem naturalem Reuerendissimi in Xpo. patris et d'ni, d'ni Reginaldi Pole, Cardinalis vltimi Archie'pi eiusdem iam vacat, et pastoris sit Solatio destituta, alium vobis eligend. in Archie'pum et pastorem, L'niam n'ram fundatoriam, vobis concedere dignaremur, Nos precibus v'ris in hac parte fauorabil'r inclinati, L'niam illam vobis duximus concedend., Rogantes, Q'd talem vobis eligatis in Archie'pum et pastorem qui deo deuotus nobisq: et Regno n'ro vtilis et fidelis existat. In cuius Rei Testimonium has l'ras n'ras fieri fecimus patentes, Teste meip'a apud. Westmonast: decimo octauo die Julij, Anno Regni n'ri primo.

Nicholaus Cotton vtriusq: Iuris Doctor, decanus eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant: et eiusdem eccl'ie Cap't'lm, Dilecto nobis in Xpo. Nicholao Simpson cl'ico Sal'tm. Cum Sedes Archie'palis Cantur: predict. per obitum Reuerendissimi in Xpo. p'ris et d'ni, d'ni Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis vltimi Archie'pi eiusdem iam vacat, et Archiepresulis siue Pastoris Solatio destituta existit, Nos decanus et Cap't'lm predict. in Domo Cap't'lari eccl'ie anted'ce die subscript. atq: ad effectum infrascriptum, (L'nia Regia primitus habita et obtenta) Cap't'lariter congregati et Cap't'lm. facien., ne Archie'patus predict. sue vacationis diutius deploraret Incommoda, nobismetip'is pro tunc p'ntibus, Ac omnibus alijs Canoniciis eiusdem eccl'ie tunc absentibus, Ius et voces in electione futuri Archie'pi eiusdem eccl'ie habentibus, diem Martis viz. primum Diem prox. sequentis Mensis Augusti ac hor. nonam et decimam ante meridiem eiusdem diei, et domum Cap't'larem predict, cum continuatione et prorogatione dierum et horarum extunc sequen. (Si oporteat) in ea parte fienda, ad electionem futuri Archie'pi prefate eccl'ie (Deo fauente) celebrand. pro Termino et Loco competen. prefiximus et assignauimus, Neenon ad diem, hor. et locum predict. omnes et sing'los ip'ius eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: Canonicos et prebendarios tam p'ntes quam ab'entes Ius et voces in h'mo'i electione et electionis negotio h'entes, ad faciend. exercend. et expediend. omnia et Sing'la que circa electionem h'mo'i in ea parte n'ce'ria fuerint, seu de Iure aut Consuetudine eccl'ie pred'ce vel huius incliti Regni Anglie Statutis q'mo'l't requisita, vsq: ad finalem eiusdem negotij expedic'o'em inclusiue, per Citation. l'ras siue Schedulas in Stallis Prebendarum suar. iuxta morem

preteriti Temporis ac Statuta et laudabiles Consuetudines eccl'ie pred'ce hactenus ab antiquo in ea parte vsitat. et observat. affigend., et ib'm dimittend. peremptorie citandos et monendos fore decreuimus Iusticia mediante, Tibi ig'r committimus et mandamus Tenore p'ntium, Quatenus cites seu citari facias peremptorie omnes et Sing'los prefate eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant : Canonicos prebendatos in Stallis eorum in Choro eiusdem eccl'ie (Citation. l'ris et Schedulis in ip'is Stallis pu^{ce} affixis et ib'm dimissis) Quos nos etiam Tenore p'ntium sic citamus, Q'd compareant et eoru. Quilibet compareat, coram nobis pred'co primo die mensis Augusti, in Domo Cap'tlari pred'ca, et inter hor. nonam et decima. ante meridiem eiusdem Diei, cum Continuatione et prorogatione Dierum et horarum extunc Sequentium (Si oporteat) in ea parte fiend. in prefate electionis negocio, et in sing'lis Actis eiusdem, vsq: ad finalem d'ci Negocij expedic'o'em inclusiue fiend., l'time processur. et procedi visur. Ceteraq: omnia et sing'la alia factur. subitur. et auditur. que h'mo'i electionis negocij Natura et Qualitas, de se exigunt et requirunt, Intimando nihilominus citatis pred'cis omnibus et Sing'lis harum Serie, Q'd siue ip'i ruxta effectum Citationis h'mo'i die, hor. et loco pred'cis nobiscum comparuerint siue non, Nos tamen eisdem die hor. et loco in dict. electionis negocio, vsq: ad finalem expedic'o'em eiusdem inclusiue procedemus, prout de Iure et Consuetudine fuerit, procedend., eorum sic citatorum absentijs siue Contumacijs in aliquo non obstan. Et quid in premissis feceritis, Nos dictis die hor. et loco debite certificare cures vnacu p'ntibus. Dat. in Domo n'ra Cap'tlari vicesimo secundo die mensis Iulij Anno d'ni Mill'imo, Quingen°, Quinquagesimo Nono.

Henerabilibus et eximijs viris mag'ris Nicholao Wotton utriusq: Iuris Doctori, decano eccl'ie cath' et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: et eiusdem eccl'ie Cap'tlo, Vester^l humilis et deuotus, Nicholaus Simpson cl'icus, vester ad Infrascripta Mandatarius rite et l'time deputatus, omni'odas Reueren. et ob'iam cum obsequij exhibitione, tantis viris debet. Mandatum v'rum Reuerendum p'ntibus annex. xxij° die mensis Iulij vltimi preteriti humil'r. recepi exequend., Cuius auc'te et vigore, d'co xxij° die Iulij per affixionem d'ci v'ri Mandati in Stallo v'ri prefati d'ni decani infra Chorum eiusdem eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice, atq: per affixionem Citationum Scedularu. in sing'lis Stallis Canonicorum et prebendariorum d'ce eccl'ie

iuxta vim, forma. et effectum mandati v'ri Citatorij h'mo'i pu^{co} affixarum, et ib'm dimissarum, omnes et sing'los Canonicos Prebendas in d'ca eccl'ie obtinentes, in electione futuri Archie'pi eiusdem eccl'ie, Ius, voces, et Interesse h'entes, aut habere pretendentes p'emptorie citari feci, Q'd comparerent et eorum Quilibet compareret coram vobis, die, hor. et Loco in Mandato v'ro Reuerendo predicto specificatis vnacum Continuatione et prorogatione dierum et horaru. (Si oporteat) extunc sequen., vobiscum tunc et ib'm in h'mo'i electione et electionis negocio iuxta Iuris exigentiam et d'ce Eccl'ie Cath'is consuetudines processur. et procedi visur. vsq : ad finalem expeditionem eiusd. inclusivae, Vltcriusq : factur. in ea parte quod Tenor et eff'cus d'ci v'ri Mandati de se exigunt et requirunt, Intimando insuper, et intimari feci, eisdem sic citatis, Q'd siue ip'i dictis die, hor. et loco vobiscum comparuerint siue non, Vos nihilominus eisdem die, hor. et loco cum Continuatione, et prorogatione dierum et horaru. h'mo'i, extunc sequen., iuxta Iuris Exigentiam et preteriti Temporis Observantia. in h'mo'i electionis negocio procedere intenditis, ip'orum Citatorum Contumacia ab'iaq : siue Negligentia in aliquo non obstan. Et sic Mandatu. v'rum pred'cum in forma mihi demandata, debite exequi feci et causavi. No'i'a vero et cogno'i'a pred'corum Canonicorum (vt premittitur) citatorum inferius describuntur, In cuius Rei Testimonium Sigillum venerabilis viri Officialis D'ni Arch'ni Cant : p'ntibus apponi procuravi. Et nos Officialis antedictus ad Sp'ialem Rogatum d'ci Certificantis Sigillu. n'rum h'mo'i p'ntibus apposuimus : dat. quoad Sigilli Appensionem primo die mensis Augusti Anno d'ni Mill'imo Quingen°, Quinquagesimo Nono. Mr. Ioh'es Milles, Mr. Arthurus Sentleger, Mr. Hugo Turnebull, Mr. Richardus Ffawcet, Mr. Rad'us Jackson, Mr. Robertus Collins, Mr. Ioh'es Knight, Mr. Will'mus Darrell, Mr. Thomas Wood, Mr. Nicholaus Harpesfield, Mr. Ioh'es Butler. **Quibus** omnibus et Sing'lis premissis sic gestis et expeditis, omnibusq : et Sing'lis pred'ce eccl'ie Canonicis, Ius et voces in h'mo'i electione et electionis negocio habentibus seu habere pretendentibus l'time et peremptorie ad eosdem diem, hor. et Locum citatis ad foras d'ce Domus Cap't'laris pu^{co} preconizatis Comparentibus p'sonal'r vna nobiscum d'co decano, mag'ris Ioh'e Milles, Arthuro Sentleger, Will'mo Darrell, et Ioh'e Butler, prefate eccl'ie cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar : Canonicis et Prebendarijs, Nos decanus

et Cap'tlm antedict. sic cap'tlariter congregat. preno'i'atum Ioh'em Incent Notarium publicum in Actorum Scribam electionis pred'ce assumpsimus, Necnon mag'rum Ioh'em Armerar el'icum et Gilbertum Hide gener. in Testes eiusdem electionis negocij et agendorum in eodem p'sonal'r tunc p'ntes elegimus, et eos rogauimus nobiscum ib'm remanere. Et mox Nos Nicholaus Wotton decanus an'dict de Consensu d'corum Canonicoru. et Prebendariorum predict. tunc p'ntium in h'mo'i electionis negocio procedentes, omnes et sing'los alios Canonicos et Prebendarios, ad eosdem Diem, hor. et locu. citatos, pu^{ce} alta voce ut supra preconizatos, diu expectatos, et nullo modo comparentes pronunciauimus Contumaces, et in pena. Contumaciaru. suarum h'mo'i, ad vlteriori in d'co electionis negocio procedend. fore decreuimus, eorum ab'ia siue Contumacia in aliquo non obstante—in Scriptis per nos sub h'mo'i verborum tenore lectis. **In Dei No'i'e Amen.** Nos Nicholaus Wotton vtriusq: Iuris Doctor, decanus eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: de vnanimi Assensu et Consensu Cap'tli eiusdem eccl'ei omnes et sing'los Canonicos et Prebendarios eccl'ie memorate ad hos diem et locum ad procedend. in negocio electionis futuri Archie'pi et pastoris eccl'ie cath. predictae iuxta morem preteriti Temporis in eadem eccl'ia vsitat. et observat. l'time et peremptorie citatos, pu^{ce} preconizatos diu viz. in hor. locum et Tempus rite assignat. expectatos, et nullo modo comparentes pronunciamus Contumaces, et in pena. Contumaciarum suarum h'mo'i et eorum cuiuslibet decernimus Jus et p'atem procedend. in h'mo'i electionis negocio ad alios Canonicos comparentes spectare et pertinere, et ad vlteriora in eodem electionis negocio procedend. fore ip'orum citatorum et non comparentium ab'ia siue Contumacia in aliquo non obstante. **His Expeditis** Nos Nicholaus Wotton decanus antedictus de consimilibus consensu, assensu, et voluntate eorundem Canonicorum et Prebendariorum tunc p'ntium, quasdam Monitionem et protestationem in Scriptis simul redact. et concept. fecimus et pu^{ce} legebamus tunc et ib'm sub h'mo'i sequitur verborum tenore.

In Dei No'i'e Amen. Nos Nicholaus Wotton vtriusq: Iuris doctor, decanus eccl'ie cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: vice n'ra ac vice et no'i'e omniu. et Sing'lorum Canonicorum et Confratrum n'rorum hic jam p'ntium monemus omnes et Sing'los Suspensos, exco'icatos, et interdictos (Si qui

forsan inter nos hic iam sint) qui de Iure seu Consuetudine aut quauis alia occasione, seu causa, in p'nti electionis negocio interesse non debent, Q'd de hac domo Cap't'lari statim iam recedant, ac nos et alios de p'nti Cap't'lo, ad quos Ius et p'tas eligendi pertinet libere eligere permittant, protestando o'ibus via modo et Iuris forma melioribus et efficacioribus quibus melius et efficacius possumus et debemus no'i'e n'ro ac vice et no'i'e o'ium et sing'lorum Canonicorum, Prebendariorum, et confratrum n'rorum predict. hic iam p'ntium, Q'd non est n'ra nec eorum voluntas admittere tanq : Ius, voces, et Interesse in h'mo'i electione habentes, aut procedere vel eligere cum eisdem, Immo volumus et volunt q'd voces Taliu. (Si que postmodu. reperiantur) quod absit, in h'mo'i electione interuenisse, nulli prestant auxilium. nec afferant alicui nocumentum, Sed prorsus pro non receptis, et non habitis nullisq : et inualidis penitus et omnino habeantur et censeantur, Canonicos vero omnes p'ntes pro pleno Cap't'lo eccl'ie pred'ce habendos et censendos fore debere pronu'ciamus et declaramus in hiis Scriptis. **Consequenter** vero declarat. pu^{ce} per nos Nicholau. Wotton anted'cum decanu. Cap't'lo (Quia propter diuersas, etc.) Expositisq : per nos Tribus modis electionis, Cunctisq : Canonicis tunc p'ntibus pu'ce percontatis, secundu. quem modu. siue quam viam illarum trium in d'co Cap't'lo (Quia propter diuersas, etc.) comprehensarum in h'mo'i electionis negocio procedere voluerint, Nos Decanus et Cap't'lm. an'dict. de et super forma electionis h'mo'i, ac per quam viam siue forma. fuerit nobis procedend. ad electionem futuri Archie'pi eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien : predict. diligenter tractauimus, et tandem nobis decano et Canonicis antedict. (vt prefertur) tunc ib'm p'ntibus, et Cap't'lm in ea parte facien. visum est et placuit nobis decano, ac omnibus et sing'lis suprad'cis, nullo n'rum discrepante seu contradicente per viam seu formam Compromissi in h'mo'i electionis negocio procedere, ac tunc et ib'm in Venerabilem virum mag'r'm Nicholau. Wotton decanu. anted'cum sub certis expressatis Legibus et Conditionibus, Ita q'd d'cus Compromissarius priusq : e domo Cap't'lari predict. recederet, et antequam Cap't'lm h'mo'i solueretur, vnum virum idoneum in Archie'pum et pastorem eccle'ie memorate eligeret compromissimus, Promittentes nos bona fide illum acceptatur. in n'rum et d'ce eccle'ie Archie'pum, quem ip'e Compromissarius sub modo et forma prenotatis duxerit eligend. et prouidend.

Hisq in hunc modum dispositis, prefatus mag'r Nicholas Wotton Compromissarius anted'cus, Onus Compromissi h'mo'i in se acceptans, Vota sua in Venerabilem virum mag'rum Mattheum Parker Sacre Theologie Professore*m* iuxta et secundu*m* p'tatem sibi in hac parte factam et concessam ac Compromissionem pred'cam direxi, Ip'umque in Archie'pum et pastorem eiusdem eccl'ie elegit, et eccl'ie pred'ce de eodem prouidebat, prout in Scheda Tenorem et forma. Compromissi electionis et prouisionis predict. Continen., per eundem mag'rum Nicholau. Wotton pu^{ce} lect. (cujus tenor de verbo in verbum sequitur) dilucidius continetur. **In Dei No'm'e. Amen.** Cum vacante nuper Sede Archie'pali Cantuar: per obitum bone memorie Reuerendissimi in Xpo. p'ris D'ni Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis vltimi Archie'pi et pastoris eiusdem vocatis et l'time premonitis ad electionem futuri Archiepresulis d'ce Sedis omnibus et Sing'lis, qui de Iure vel Consuetudine d'ce eccl'ie ad electionem h'mo'i fuerint euocandi ac omnibus qui debuerint aut potuerint h'mo'i electionis negocio commode interesse, in Domo Cap't'lari antefate eccl'ie, Termino ad d'cam electionem celebrand. prefixo et assignato, p'ntibus et cap't'lariter congregatis, placuerit Decano, omnibusq: et Sing'lis eiusdem eccl'ie Cap't'li nemine contradicente vel discrepante, per via. seu formam Compromissi, de futuro Sedis predict. Archie'po prouidere, ac mihi Nicholao Wotton eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: predictae decano, Ius et vocem in h'mo'i electionis negocio habenti. Compromissario in hac parte special'r et l'time electo plenam et liberam dederint et concesserint, p'tatem, auc'tem, et mandatu*m*. Speciale die isto antequam ab hac domo Cap't'lari recederem, ac recederent, et Cap't'lo durante, p'sona. habilem et idoneam in Archie'pum et pastorem d'ce eccl'ie ["eligendi" is here inserted in the Folio Edition of Bramhall. Its omission here is an obvious oversight of the scribe] et eidem prouidendi prout ex Tenore dicti Compromissi manifeste liquet et apparet: Ego Nicholas Wotton Decanus an'd'cus, Onus Compromissi h'mo'i acceptans in venerabilem virum mag'rum Mattheum Parker, Sacre Theologie Professore*m* vota mea dirigens, virum vtique prouidum et discretum, l'rarum Scientia, vita, et moribus merito commendatu*m*, liberu*m*. et de l'timo m'rimonio procreatum, atq: in etate l'tima et ordine Sacerdotali constitutu*m*, in Sp'ualibus et Temporalibus plurimu*m*. circumspectum, scientem, volentem et valentem, Iura et Libertates d'ce eccl'ie tueri, et

defendere, vice mei, viceq: Loco, et no'i'e, totius, Cap't'li eiusdem eccl'ie, pred'cum venerabilem virum, mag'r'm Mattheu. Parker premissorum meritorum suorum intuitu in Archie'pum et pastorem eiusdem eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar:, infra Tempus mihi ad hoc datu. et assignatum eligo in communi, et eidem eccl'ie prouideo de eodem in hiis scriptis: **Deinde** Nos Decanus, et Cap't'lm. antedict. prefatam electionem et p'sonam electam, vtpote rite factam, et celebratam obuijs vinis amplexantes, ac eam, ratam, gratam, et firma. habentes, eundem mag'r'm Mattheu. Parker, electum in Archie'pum et pastorem prefate eccl'ie, quatenus in nobis fuit, aut est acceptauimus, et electionem h'mo'i approbauimus. **Consequenter** vero, Nos Decanus et Cap't'lm antedict., prefato mag'ro Will'mo Darrell p'tatem dedimus et concessimus, electionem n'ram h'mo'i et p'sona. electam, Clero et populo pala, publicand. declarand. et manifestand. prout moris est, atq: in Similibus de vsu laudabili fieri assolet. **Postremo** vero Nos decanus et Cap't'lm antedict. domu. n'ram Cap't'larem antedict. egredientes, et Chorum eccl'ie memorate intrantes. hymnu., Te Deum laudamus, in Sermone Anglico per ministros Chori solemniter decantari fecimus, Quo p'acto, prefatus mag'r Will'mus Darrell iuxta p'tatem sibi elargitam ministris eiusdem eccl'ie ac plebi tunc coadunate, electionem n'ram h'mo'i et p'sona. electam verbo tenus publicauit, et denunciauit, ac declarauit. **Que o'ia** et sing'la Nos Decanus et Cap't'lm an'dict. pro officij n'ri debito v're Serenissime maiestati sub Serie in hoc processu inserta, duximus significand., Eidem ma^{ti} v're humil'r et obnixie supplicantes, Quatenus n'electionire h'mo'i sic (ut premittitur) facte, et celebrate, Consensu. et assensu. v'ros regios adhibere, et eandem confirmari facere et mandare dignetur v'ra excellentissima maiestas. Vt (Deo Optimo Maximo Bonorum o'ium Largitore fauente et opitulante) d'cus electus et confirmatus nobis precesse valeat, vtiliter pariter et prodesse. Ac nos sub eo et eius Regimine bono possumus deo iu d'ca eccl'ia militare. **Et ut** de premissoru. veritate, v're Clementissime Maiestati abunde constare possit, Nos decanus et Cap't'lm an'dict. p'ntem Electionis n're processum, Signo, Nomine, et Cognomine ac Subscriptione Notarij pu^{ci} subscripti signari et subscribi, n'riq: Sigilli co'is appensione, iussimus et fecimus communiri. Act. in Domo n'ra Cap't'lari predict.

primo die mensis August, Anno dn'i Mill'imo, Quingen°, Quinquagesimo, Nono.

Et Ego Joh'es Incent Cantuarien: Dioc. publicus Suprema auc'te regia Notarius in p'nti Electionis negocio in Actorum Scribam assumptus et deputatus, Quia omnibus et Sing'lis actis eiusdem electionis dum sic (ut premititur) sub anno D'ni, mense, die, hor. et Loco pred'cis agebantur et fiebant, vnacum Testibus de quibus in p'nti processu fit mentio, p'ns p'sonal'r interfui, eaq: omnia et Sing'la sic fieri, vidi, sciui, et audiui, atq: in notas sumpsi, Ideo hoc p'ns publicum electionis decretum, siue processum, manu mea propria fidel'r Scriptu. exinde confeci, Atq: in hanc publicam et autentica formam. redegei, Ac no'is et Cogno'is meorum adiectione subscripsi, necnon Signo meo solito et consueto signaui, vnacum appensione Sigilli communis d'corum decani et Cap't'li, in fidem et Testimonium omniu. et Sing'lorum premissorum Rogatus special'r et requisitus.

In Dei No'te Amen pn'tis pu^{cl} Instrumenti Serie, Cunctis evidenter appareat et sit notu., Q'd anno d'ni Mill'imo, Quingen°, Quinquagesimo nono, INSTRU-
MENTU. SUPER
CONSENSU.
D'NI ELECTI. Mensis vero Augusti die sexto in quodam inferiori Cenaculo infra Manerium Archie'pi Cantuarien: apud Lambeth Winton. Dioc. notorie sit. et situat. in meiq: Notarij pu^{cl} subscripti, ac Testium inferius no'i'atorum p'ntijs venerabiles et eximij viri, mag'ri Will'mus Darrell, Cl'eus, Canonicus et Prebendarius eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: et Anthonius Huse Armiger, real'r exhibuerunt quoddam Procuratorium Sigillo communi et Cap't'lari (vt apparuit) venerabiliu. viroru. d'norum Decani et Cap't'li eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cant: predict. sigillat. eisdem mag'ris Will'mo et Anthonio, ac mihi Iohanni Incent Notario pu^{co} subscripto co^m et di^m fact. et se partem pro eisdem decano et Cap't'lo fecerunt, ac no'i'e Procu'rio eorundem p'ntarunt venerabili et eximio viro mag'ro Mattheo Parker Sacre Theologie Professore tunc et ib'm p'sonal'r p'nti processum electionis de ip'o et eius p'sona in Archie'pum et pastorem Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantur: predict. fact. et celebrat., in et sub formis Originalibus eiusdem, Eundemq: mag'rum Mattheum Parker instanter rogarunt et requisierunt, Quatenus eidem electioni de ip'o et eius p'sona (vt premititur) facte et celebrate consentire dignaretur: d'co electo asserente, Q'd licet se tanto munere indignu. indicaret,

Tamen ne ip'e diuine voluntati resistere ac Serenissime d'ne n're Regine beneplacite (que ip'um licet indignu. prefatis Decano et Cap't'lo commendare dignata est) minime obtemperare videretur, electioni h'mo'i consentiebat, ac Consensu. et Assensu. suos eidem prebuit in Scriptis per eum lectis Tenorem qui sequitur de verbo in verbum in se complecten.—

In Dei No'i'e Amen. Ego Mattheus Parker Sacre Theologie Professor, in ordine Sacerdotali, atq: in etate l'tima constitutus, ac in et de l'timo m'rimonio procreatus, in Archie'pum et pastorem Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantur: rite et l'time no'i'atus et electus, Ad consentiend. h'mo'i electioni de me et persona mea in hac parte facte et celebrate ex parte et per partem venerabilium virorum Decani et Cap't'li eiusdem Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice instanter rogatus et requisitus, dei O'ipotentis Clementia fretus, electioni h'mo'i de me et p'sona mea sic (vt premittitur) facte et celebrate, ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis P'ris, Filij, et Spiritus Sancti consentio, eidemq: Consensu. et Assensu. meos semel atq: iterum Rogatus et interpellatus prebeo in hijs Scriptis. **Super** quibus omnibus et Sing'lis premissis tam ip'e electus quam preno'i'ati mag'ri Will'mus Darrell et Anthonius Huse Procu'res an'd'ei me eundem Notarium pu^{ca}. Subscriptum sibi vnum vel plura pu^{ca}. seu pu^{ca} Instrumentu. siue Instrumenta conficere, ac Testes inferius no'i'atos Testimonium exinde perhibere instanter, respectiue rogarunt et requisierunt. Acta fuerunt hec omnia et Sing'la premissa prout supra scribuntur et recitantur Sub anno D'ni, Mense, Die, et Loco pred'cis P'ntibus tunc et ib'm Richardo Taverner Armigero, Ioh'e Baker gener., Radulpho Jackson et Andrea Peerson cl'icis Testibus ad premissa vidend., audiend., et testificand. rogatis et Special'r requisitis.

Et ego Ioh'es Incent Cantuarien: Dioc. publicus sacra et Suprema auc'te regia notarius, Quia premissis omnibus et Sing'lis dum sic (vt premittitur) sub anno d'ni, mense, die, et loco pred'cis agebantur et fiebant vna cum preno'i'atis Testibus p'ns personal'r interfui, eaq: omnia et Sing'la sic fieri, vidi, sciui et audiui, atq: in notam sumpsi, Ideo hoc p'ns publicum Instrumentu. manu mea propria fidel'r Scriptu. exinde confeci, Subscripsi, et publicaui, Atq: in hanc pu^{ca}. et autentica. forma redeg, Signoq: No'i'e, Cogno'i'e, et Subscriptione meis solitis et consuetis signaui, in fidem et Testimonium omniu, et Sing'lorum premissorum Rogatus special'r et requisitus.

**SUPER LIBELLO SIVE SUMMARIA PETITIONE DAT. PER PARTEM VENERABILIUM VIRO-
RUM D'NOR. DECANI ET CAP'T'LI ECCL'IE CATH'IS
ET METROPOLITICE XPI. CANTUARIEN.**

Ioh'es Baker gener. mora. trahens in p'nti cum
DEPOSITIONES venerabili et eximio viro mag'ro Mattheo Parker
TESTIU. electo Cantur: xxxix annorum etatis, oriundus in
 p'ochia Sancti Clementis in Ciuitate Norwici, libere ut dicit
 Conditionis et Testis de et super libello pred'co productus,
 iuratus, et exa'latus, dicit ut sequitur.

Ad Primu., S'c'dm., Tertium, Quartum, Quintu., Sextu.,
 Sextu., et Septimu. refert se ad processum in h'mo'i causa
 habitum et factum.

Ad Octavu. dicit, in vim Iuramenti sui deponit q'd
 idem R.^{mus} p'r Mattheus Parker fuit et est ver prouidus, ac
 Sacrarum l'rarum Scientia, vita et moribus commendatus, ac
 homo liber ex l'timo m'rimonio procreatus, atq; in etate l'tima
 et in ordine, Sacerdotali constitutus et dicte d'ne n're Regine
 fidelis Subditus, reddendo ca'am sci'e sue in hac parte dicit, Q'd
 est frater naturalis dicti d'ni electi, suntq; ex vnis parentibus
 procreati et geniti.

Ad Nonu., decimu, et vndecimu. refert se ad processu.
 h'mo'i.

Ad Altimu. dicit q'd predeposita per eum sunt vera etc.

Willmus Colwyn Artium mag'r ac Ro'r eccl'ie sancti
 Antonini in Ciuitate London lxx annoru. etatis, ut dicit libere
 conditionis etc., Testis etc.

Ad Primu., Secundu., Tertium, Quartum, Quintu., Sextum,
 et Septimu. refert se ad processu. h'mo'i.

Ad Octavu. dicit et deponit Contenta in h'mo'i Arti-
 culo esse vera, de eius certo Scientia, quia dicit q'd bene
 eum nouit per hos xxx annos, ac per idem Tempus secu. admodu.
 familiaris fuit, et in p'nti est, Et etiam dicit q'd nouit eius
 matrem.

Ad Nonu Decimu., Undecimu. et Duodecimu. refert.

In Dei No'i'e Amen. Nos Will'mus quondam Bathon:
S'c'da SCH-
DULA CONTRA
OPPOSITORES. et Wellen. e'pus, nunc electus Cicestren: Ioh'es
 Scorye quondam: Cicestren: e'pus: nunc Here-
 forden: electus, Milo Coverdale quondam Exon: e'pus et
 Ioh'es Bedforden: e'pus, Serenissime in Xpo. Principis
 et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethe Die gr'a Anglie, ffrancie,

et Hibernie Regine fidei defens. etc. median. l'ris suis regijs commissionalibus paten., ad infrascripta Commissarij cum hac clausula viz. vnacu. D'nis Ioh'e Thetforden: Suffraganeo, et Ioh'e Bale Osseren: e'po, et etiam hac clausula, Quatenus vos aut ad minus quatuor v'rum etc. Necnon et hac adiectione, Supplentes nihilominus etc. Special'r et l'time deputati In negocio Confirmationis electionis de p'sona venerabilis et eximij viri Mag'ri Matthei Parker Sacre Theologie Professoris in Archiep'm Cantuarien: electi facte et celebrate rite et l'time procedentes, omnes et sing'los Oppositores, qui contra d'cam electionem, seu forma. eiusdem, aut personam electam dicere, excipere, vel opponere voluerint, ad comparend. coram nobis istis die hor. et Loco (Si sua putauerint interesse) contra d'cam electionem, forma. eiusdem, aut p'sona. electam in debita Iuris forma dictur., exceptur, et propositur. l'time et peremptorie citat. sepius pu^{ca} preconizatos, diuq: et sufficienter expectatos, et nullo modo comparentes, nec contra d'cam electionem, formam eiusdem aut p'sonam electam, aliquid dicentes, excipientes, vel opponentes, ad peticio'em Procuratoris decanis et Cap'tli Cantuar: pronunciamus contumaces, et it pena. Contumaciarum suarum h'mo'i decernimus procedend. fore ad prolacio'em S'nie siue decreti finalis in hac causa ferendi, ip'orum sic citatorum et non comparientium Contumac. in aliquo non obstan.

I **Matthewe Parker** elected Archbushopp of Cantur: do utterlie testifie and declare in my Conscience, That the Quenys highnes ys thonlie supreme
JURAMENTU.
DE AGNOSCHEN
SUPREMA.
P'TATEM
REGIA.
 Gouvernor of thys Realme, and of all other her highnes Do'ions and Contreys, as well in Spirituall or eccl'iasticall thinges or causes, as Temporall. And that no forreine prince, p'son, prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any Jurisdiction, power, Superioritie, preeminence, or Authoritie eccl'iasticall or sp'ual within thys realme, And therefore I do utterlie renounce and forsake all forreine Jurisdiccions, powers, Superiorities, and authorities. And do promise, that from hensforth I shall bear faith and true Allegyaunce to the Quenys Highnes, her Heires and lawfull Successours and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdiccions, privilege, preeminence, and authorities graunted or Belonginge to the Quenys Highnes her Heires and Succ^a., or united and annexed to th'emperiall Crowne of thys Realme. So helpe me God, and by the Contentis of thys Booke.

In Dei no't'e Amen. Auditis, visis, et intellectis, ac plenarie et mature discussis per nos Will'um quondam Bathon: et Wellen: e'pum, nunc Cicestren: electum, Ioh'em Scorye quonda. Cicestren: e'pum, nunc electum Hereforden: Milonem Coverdale quondam Exon: e'pum, et Ioh'em Bedforden: e'pum, Serenissime in Xpo. Principis, et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethe, Dei gr'a Anglie, ffrancie, et Hibernie Regine fidei Defens. etc. median. l'ris suis regijs Commissionalibus paten. ad infrascripta Commissarios, cum hac clausula, viz, vnacu. d'nis Ioh'e Thetforden: Suffraganeo, et Ioh'e Bale Osseren: e'po, et etiam hac clausula, Quatenus vos aut ad minus quatuor v'rum etc. Neenon et hac adiectione, Supplentes nihilominus etc. sp'ial'r et l'time deputatos, Meritis et Circumstantijs cuiusdam cause siue Negocii Confirmationis electionis de p'sona venerabilis et eximij viri Mag'ri Matthei Parker Sacre Theologie Professoris in Archie'pum et pastorem eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: per obitum bone memorie d'ni Reginaldi Polo vltimi Archie'pi ib'm vacan., electi, facte et celebrate, quod coram nobis aliquandiu vertebatur, et in p'nti vertitur et pendit indeciss., Rimato primitus per nos toto et integro processu coram nobis in d'eo negotio habite. et facto, atq: diligenter recensit. Seruatisq: per nos de Iure et Statutis huius Regni Anglie Seruandis, ad n'ri decreti finalis siue S'nie diffinitive confirmationis in h'mo'i negotio ferende. prolac'o'em sic duximus procedend., et procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modu.

Quia per Acta, exhibita, producta, et probata, coram nobis in h'mo'i Confirmationis negotio, comperimus, et luculenter invenimus. electionem ip'am per Decanu. et Cap't'lm. Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: predict. de prefato venerabili et eximio viro mag'ro Mattheo Parker electo h'mo'i viro vtiq: prouido et discreto, vita et moribus merito commendato, libero, et de l'timo m'rimonio procreato, atq: in etate l'tima et ordine Sacerdotali constituto rite et l'time fuisse et esse factam et celebrata, nihilq: eidem venerabili viro mag'ro Mattheo Parker electo h'mo'i, de eccl'iasticis Institutis obuiasse seu obuiare quo minus in Archie'pum Cantuar: auc'te d'ce illustrissime d'ne n're Regine merito debeat confirmari. **Idcirco** nos Will'mus nuper Bathon: et Wellen: e'pus, nunc Cicestren. electus Joh'es Scory quondam Cicestren: e'pus nunc electus Hereforden: Milo Coverdale quondam Exon:

e'pus, et Ioh'es Bedforden : e'pus, Commissarij regij an'dicti, attentis premissis et alijs virtutum meritis, Super quibus prefatus electus Cantuarien : fide digno commendatur Testimonio, Xpi. No'i'e primitus inuocato, ac ip'um solum deum oculis n'ris preponentes, de et cum Consilio Iurisperitoru., cum quibus in hac parte communicauimus, pred'cam electionem de eodem venerabili viro Mag'ro Mattheo Parker (vt prefertur) factam et celebrata. Suprema auc'te d'ce Serenissime d'ne n're Regine nobis in hac parte commissa confirmamus, Supplentes ex Suprema auc'te Regia ex mero principis motu, ac certa Scientia nobis delegata quicquid in hac Electione fuerit defectum. Tum in hijs que iuxta mandatu. nobis creditum, a nobis factum et processu. est, aut in nobis aut aliquorum n'rorum, Conditione, statu, facultate, ad hec perficiend. deest aut deerit, Tum etiam eorum que per Statuta huius Regni Anglie, aut per Leges eccl'iasticas in hac parte requisita sunt, vel n'cc'ria, prout Temporis Ratio et rerum p'ntium Necessitas id postulant, per hanc n'ram S'niam Diffinitiu. siue hoc n'rum finale decretu., Quam siue quod ad petic'o'em partium ita peten ferimus et promulgamus in hijs Scriptis.

Rituum et ceremoniarum ordo in CONSECRATIONE REVERENDISSIMI D'NI MATTHEI PARKER, ARCHIE'PI CANTUR. IN CAPELLA INFRA MANERIUM SUU. DE LAMBEHITH DIE D'NICO VIZ. DECIMO SEPTIMO DIE MENSIS DECEMBRIS, ANNO D'NI MILL'IMO QUINGEN°, QUINQUAGESIMO NONO.

Principio Sacellu. Tapetibus ad orientem adornabatur, solu. vero panno rubro insternebatur, Mensa quoq : sacris peragendis n'cc'ria, Tapeto puluinariq : ornata, ad Orientem sita erat.

ORDO CEREMONIARU. IN CONSECRATIONE D'NI MATTHEI PARKER.

Quatuor preterea Cathedre, quatuor e'pis quibus Munus Consecrandi Archie'pi delegabatur ad Austrum Orientalis Sacelli partis erant posite.

Scamnu preterea Tapeto, pulvinaribusq : instratum, Cui e'p genibus flexis inniterentur, ante cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoq : modo Cathedra, Scamnu'q : Tapeto, pulvinariq : ornatu. Archie'po, ad Borealem Orientalis eiusdem Sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

Hijs rebus ita ordine suo instructis, Mane circiter quintam aut Sextam, per Occidentalem portam ingreditur Sacellu. Archie'pus, toga Talari Coccinea, Caputioq : indutus,

quatuor precedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus e'pis, qui eius Consecrationi inservirent. viz. Will'mo Barloe quondam Bathon: et Wellen: e'po, nunc electo Cicestren:, Ioh'e Scory quonda. Cicestren: e'po, nunc Hereforden: electo, Milone Coverdale quondam Exon: e'po. et Iohanne Bedforden: Suffraganeo, Qui omnes postq: Sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent, preces continuo Matutine per Andrea. Peerson Archie'pi Capellanum clara voce recitabantur, Quibus peractis Ioh'es Scory de quo supradiximus, Suggestum conscendit, atq; inde assumpto sibi in Thema *Seniores ergo qui in vobis sunt obsecro consenior* etc. non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finita Concione, egrediuntur simul Archie'pus, reliqui: quatuor e'pi Sacellu., se ad Sacram Communionem. paraturi neq: Mora confestim per Borealem portam ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt, Archie'pus nimirum Linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur, Cicestren: electus Capa Serica ad Sacra peragenda paratus vtebatur, Cui ministrabant, operamq: suam prebebant, duo Archie'pi Capellani viz. Nicholas Bullingh'm Lincoln: et Edmundus Gest Cantuarien: respective Archi'ni, capis Sericis simil'r vestiti, Hereforden: electus et Bedforden: Suffraganeus linteis superpelliceis induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi Toga Lanea Talari vtebatur.

Atque hunc in modum vestiti et instructi ad Co'ionem celebrandam perrexerunt, Archie'po genibus flexis ad infimu. Sacelli gradu. sedente.

Finito tandem Evangelio, Hereforden: electus, Bedforden: Suffraganeus, et Milo Coverdale (de quibus supra) Archie'pum coram Cicestren: electo, apud Mensam in Cathedra sedente, hijs verbis adduxerunt, Reuerende in Deo Pater, hunc virum piu. pariter atq: doctum, Tibi offerimus atq: p'ntamus, ut Archie'pus consecratur, postq: hec dixissent, proferebatur illico Regium diploma siue Mandatum pro Consecratione Archie'pi, Quo per D. Thomam Yale Legum doctorem perlecto, Sacramentu. de regio primatu siue Suprema eius auc'te tuenda, iuxta Statuta primo Anno Regni Serenissime Regine n're Elizabethe edita et promulgata, ab eodem Archie'po exigebatur, quod cum ille solemniter Tactis corporal'r sacris Evangelijs conceptis verbis prestitisset, Cicestren: electus populu. ad orationem hortatus, ad Letanias decantandas choro r'ondante se accinxit, Quibus finitis post Questiones aliquot Archie'po per

Cicestren : electum propositas, et post Orationes et Suffragia quedam iuxta formam libri auc'te parlamenti editi apud deum habita, Cicestren :, Hereforden :, Suffraganeus Bedforden : et Milo Coverdallus Manibus Archie'po impositis dixerunt Anglice viz. "Take the hollie gost, and remember that thou stirre upp the grace of God, which ys in the by Imposicon of handes, for God hath not giuen us the spirite of feare, But of Power, and Loue, and Sobernes." Hijs dictis, Biblia sacra illi in Manibus tradiderunt, h'mo'i apud eum verba h'ntes, "Gyve hede unto thy readinge, exhortacon, and Doctrine, thinke uppon thes thinges, conteyned in thys Booke, be diligent in them that the increase comminge therbye may be manifest unto all men ; Take hede unto thy self, and unto thy Teachinge, and be diligent in Doinge them for by doinge thys, thou shalt saue thy self, and them that hear thee through Jesus Xpe. our Lord." Postq : hec dixissent, ad reliqua Communionis solemnia pergit Cicestren :, nullu. Archie'po tradens pastorale bacculum, cum quo co'icabant Archie'pus, et quatuor illi e'pi supra no'i'ati, cum alijs etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisq : Sacris egreditur per Borealem Orientalis Sacelli partis porta. Archie'pus, quatuor illis comitatus e'pis qui eum consecrauerant, et confestim eisdem ip'is stipatus e'pis per eandem reuertitur portam, albo e'pali Superpelliceo, Crimeraq : (ut vocant) ex nigro Serico indutus, circa collu. vero Collare quoddam ex preciosis pellibus Sabellinis (vulgo Sables vocant) consutu. gestabat. Pari quoq : modo Cicestren : et Hereforden suis : E'palibus amictibus, Superpelliceo et Crimera, vterq : induebatur. Coverdallus vero et Bedforden. Suffraganeus togis solum modo talaribus vtebantur. Pergens deinde Occidentalem portam versus, Archie'pus, Thome Doyle Iconimo, Joanni Baker, Thesaurario, et Joh'i March Computo. rotulario, Sing'lis sing'los albos dedit Bacculos, hoc scz. modo eos muneribus et Officijs suis ornans.

Hijs itaq : hunc ad modum ordine suo (vt iam anted'cum est) peractis, per Occidentalem portam Sacellu. egreditur Archie'pus generosioribus quibusq : Sanguine ex eius familia eum preceden. reliquis vero eum a Tergo Sequentibus.

Acta, gesta q : hec erant omnia et Sing'la in p'ntia Reuerendoru. in Xpo. patrum, Edmundi Grindall London : e'pi electi, Richardi Cockes Elien : electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorn : electi, Anthonii Huse Armigeri principalis et primarii Reg'rarii

d'ci Archie'pi, Thome Argall armigeri Reg'rarii Curie Prerogative Cantur: Thome Willett et Ioh'is Incent notariorum publicoru., et aliorum nonnullorum.

Will'mus Barlowe, e'pus Cicestrens: * Ioh'es Scory
MANDATU. DIRECTU. ARCHIEPUS. INO CANTUARIEN. AD INTRONIZAND. DICTU. D'NUM. ARCHIEPUS. e'pus Hereforden: * Milo Coverdale nuper Exon: e'pus, et Ioh'es e'pus Suffraganeus Bedforden: illustrissime in Xpo. Principis et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethhe Dei gr'a, Anglie, ffrancie, et Hibernie Regine, fidei defens. etc. ad infrascripta median. l'ris Commissionibus paten. d'ce Illustrissime d'ne n're Regine nobis in hac parte direct. Commissarij inter alios cum hac clausula, Quatenus vos aut ad minus quatuor v'rum etc. et etiam cum hac adiectione, Supplentes nihilominus etc. Special'r et l'time deputati et constituti, Venerabili viro mag'ro Edmundo Gest Archino. Cantuar: Salt'm in D'no semipiterna. **Quum** vacante nuper Sede Archie'pali Cantuarien: her mortem naturalem d'ni Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis vltimi et immediati Archie'pi eiusdem, Decanus et Cap't'lm. eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: (L'nia regia primitus in ea parte petita et obtenta) Reuerendissimum in Xpo. p'rem, d'nm. Mattheu. Parker Sacre Theologie Professore in eorum et d'ce eccl'ie cath'is e'pum et pastorem elegerint, et eccl'ie cath'i predict. prouiderint de eodem; Quam quide. Electione. et p'sona, sic electam (Seruatis de Iure et Statutis hujus incliti Regni Anglie in ea parte Seruandis) Nos auc'te l'rarum Commissionaliu. paten. d'ce illustrissime d'ne n're Regine nobis (vt premittitur) direct. rite et l'time confirmauimus eidemq: Curam, Regimen, et Administratione. d'ci Archie'patus Cantuarien: commisimus, Neenon Munus Consecrationis eidem (adhibitis de ritu et more Eccl'ie Anglicane Suffragijs et Insignijs adhibendis) impendimus, iuxta Statuta huius incliti Regni Anglie in hac parte pie et sancte edita et sancita, Ip'umq: Reuerendissimu. p'rem sic confirmatu. et consecratu. in realem, actuale., et corporalem possessionem d'ci Archie'patus Cantuar: Iuriumq: et pertinen. suorum vniuersorum inducend. inuestiend. installand. et intronizand. fore decreuimus et mandauimus. Tibi ig'r harum Serie Iuris ordine id exigente, firmiter precipiendo mandamus, Quatenus prefatu. Reuerendissimu. p'rem seu procu'rem suu. l'timum

* They had now (Dec. 20) been confirmed in their new sees.

(eius no'i'e) in realem, actuaalem, et corporalem possessione. d'ci Archie'patus Cantuarien : Iuriumq : Honorum, Dignitatu., et pertinen. suorum vniuersorum inducas, inuestias, installes, et intronizes, seu sic induci, inuestiri, installari, et intronizari facias cum effectu, Cathedramq : siue Sedem Archie'palem in eadem eccl'ia ei (vti moris est) assignes, et eum in eade. Cathedra siue Sede Archie'pali imponas, cum omni honore debit., Adhibitis de more adhibendis, aut ita fieri et imponi cures prout decet, In cuius Rei Testimonium, Sigillu. Officialitatis alme Curie Cantuarien : p'ntibus apponi fecimus et procurauimus. Dat. Londini ultimo Die mensis Decembris Anno d'ni Mill'imo, Quingenº, Quinquagesimo, nono.

Edmundus Gest Archi'nus Cantuarien : Ad quem Inductio, installatio, et intronizatio o'ium et Singulorum E'porum Cantuarien : Provincie, de laudabili, longeuq : et l'time prescripta Consuetudine notorie dinoscuntur pertinere, Venerabilibus viris . . .

ALIUD MANDATU. FACTU. P. DICTU. ARCHIDIACONU. AD EFFECTU. P'DICTU. COMMISSIO P'DCU. ARCH'NU. AD INTRONIZAND. ETC. FACTA ETC. IN AB'NIA SUA.

Sal't'm in D'no sempiterna. Quum vacante nuper Sede Archie'pali Cantuarien : per mortem naturalem d'ni Reginaldi Pole vltimi Archie'pi ib'm, decanus et Cap't'lm. eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien : (L'nia regia primitus in ea parte petita et obtenta), Reuerendissimu. in Xpo. p'rem, d'nm. Mattheu. Parker Sacre Theologie Professorum in eorum et d'ce eccl'ie Archie'pum et pastorem elegerint, Cumq : preterea Reuerendi in Xpo. p'res d'ni Will'mus Barloe Cicestren : e'pus, Ioh'es Scorye e'pus Hereforden : Milo Coverdale quondam Exon. e'pus et Ioh'es e'pus Suffraganeus Bedforden : auc'te l'rarum Commissionaliu. paten. illustrissime in Xpo. Principis et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabethe Dei gr'a Anglie, ffrancie, et Hibernie Regine, fidei defens. etc. eis in hac parte direct. sufficienter et l'time fulciti, Electionem pred'cam de p'sona prefati Reuerendissimi p'ris (vt premittitur) factam et celebratam, et [this "et" is interlined in another hand-writing] personam sic electam (Seruatis de Jure et Statutis huius incliti Regni Anglie in hac parte seruandis) confirmauerint, eidemq : Reuerendissimo in Xpo. p'ri., Curam, Regimen, et Administrationem d'ci Archie'patus Cantur : commiserint, Necnon Munus Consecrationis eidem Rº p'ri (adhibitis de ritu et more Eccl'ie Anglicane Suffragijs et Insignijs adhibendis) impenderint iuxta Statuta huius incliti Regni Anglie in hac parte pie et sancte

edita et sancsita, Nobisq : dederint in mandatis, Quatenus Nos prefatum Reuerendissimu. p'rem sic confirmatu. et consecratum seu procu'rem suum l'timum (eius no'i'e) in realem, actuaalem, et corporale. possessionem d'ei Archie'patus Cantur.: Iuriumq : et pertinen. suorum. vniuersorum induceremus, installaremus et intronizaremus, prout per eorum l'ras nobis in ea parte factas et inscriptas plenius liquet et apparet, Quia nos imp'ntiarum quibusdam arduis et vrgentibus negocijs adeo sumus impliciti et remorati, Q'd executioni officij n'ri h'mo'i vacare non valemus vti optamus, Vobis ig'r et v'rum cuiilibet co^m et di^m de quorum Circumspectione et Industria Sp'ialem in d'no fiduciam obtinemus, ad inducend. prelibatu. Reuerendissimu. p'rem seu procu'rem suu. l'timum (eius no'i'e) in realem, actuaalem, et corporalem possessione. antedictae eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien.: Iuriumq : et pertinen. suorum universorum, eundemq : Reuerendissimu. p'rem seu eius Procu'rem l'timum cum plenitudine Iuris Archie'palis installand. et intronizand. Ceteraq : omnia et sing'la faciend. exercend. et expediend. que in hac parte n'ce'ria fuerint seu q'm'ol't requisita, vices n'ras committimus, et plena. Tenore p'ntium p'tatem. Rogantes ut totum id quod in premissis feceritis, aut v'rum aliquis fecerit dicto Inductionis Negocio expedito nobis pro Loco et Tempore congruis et oportunis debite significare velitis, seu sic significet ille v'rum qui h'm'oi negocium fuerit executus, In cuius Rei Testimonium sigillu. n'rum p'ntibus apponi fecimus. Dat. primo die mensis Januarij Anno d'ni iuxta Computationem Eccl'ie Anglicane Mill'imo., Quingen° Quinquagesimo Nono.

Uniuerſis hasce Procuracionis et mandati l'ras inspec-
 turis, visuris, auditoris, vel lecturis innotescat et
 palam sit, Q'd Nos Mattheus, p'missione Divina Can-
 tuar : Archie'pus, totius Anglie Primas et Metropoli-
 tanus electus, confirmatus, et consecratus, Dilectos
 nobis in Xpo. filios mag'ros Edwardum Leades et

PROCURA-
 TORIU. D'NI
 ARCHIE'PI AD
 PETEND. ET OB-
 TINEND. INTRO-
 DUCATIONE.

. Sacellanos familiares et
 domesticos n'ros co^m et di^m n'ros veros, certos, l'timos, ac
 indubitatos procu'res, actores, factores, negociorumq ; n'rorum
 gestores, et nuncios sp'iales ad infrascripta, rite, vice, no'i'e, et
 Loco n'ris obeund. no'i'amus, ordinamus, facimus, et con-
 stituimus per p'ntes, damusq : et concedimus eisdem procu'ribus
 n'ris co^m et eorum vtriq : (vt prefertur) per se di^m et insolid.,

p'tatem generalem et Mandatum speciale, pro nobis, ac vice et no'i'e n'ris, coram Dilectis nobis in Xpo. filijs d'no decano et Cap't'lo Eccl'ie n're Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: eorumue in hac parte vicesgeren. quibuscunq: comparendi, et iustas causas ab'ie n're coram eis proponend. dicend. et profitend. Nosq: eo obtentu a p'sonali comparitione excusand., ac super veritate earundem, fidem de Iure requisitam faciend. ac Nos et p'sonam n'ram in realem, actualem, et corporalem possessionem n'ri Archie'patus Cantuarien: cum omnibus et sing'lis suis honoribus, privilegijs, prerogatiuis, preeminentijs Iuribus et p'tinen. suis vniuersis sp'ualibus et temporalibus iuxta et secundum ip'ius Eccl'ie Cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar: Statuta, Ordinac'o'es, et consuetudines (Legibus, Statutis, et prouisionibus huius Regni Anglie imp'ntiarum non repugnan.) induci, inuestiri, installari et intronizari, cum plenitudine Iuris Archie'palis, Cathedramq: siue Sedem Archie'palem in Choro eccl'ie memorate Archie'po ib'm ab antiquo assignari solit. et consuet. nobis quatenus videbitur expediens assignari et limitari petend., requirend. et obtinend., Necnon realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem, Installac'o'em et Intronizac'o'em d'ci Archie'patus Cantuarien: vice et no'i'e n'ris nanciscend. et adipiscend. ac illas sic nactas et adeptas ad vsum et commodum n'rum custodiend. et conseruand., ac per l'tima Iuris remedia tuend. et defendend.; Quodcunq; insuper Iuramentu. licitu. et approbatum, ac de Iure, Consuetudinibus et Statutis d'ce eccl'ie cath'is et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuar. in hac parte quomodolibet requisit. (Quatenus Consuetudines, Ordinac'o'es et Statuta h'mo'i Iuri diuino, ac Legibus et Statutis huius Regni Anglie non sint contraria vel repugnan.), in a'i'am meam et pro me prestand. subeund. et iurand. Necnon Iuramentu. ob'ie, et quodcunq: aliud Sacramentu, licitum et honestum de Ordinationibus et Statutis eccl'ie cath. et Metropolitice Xpi. Cantuarien: predict. modo premissis qualificatis a decano et Cap't'lo, Canonicisq: et ceteris Ministris eiusdem eccl'ie Archie'po ib'm exhiberi et prestari solit. et consuet. ab eisdem et eorum quolibet, ac vice et no'ibus n'ris recipiend. et admittend., Et generaliter o'ia et sing'la alia faciend. exercend. et expediend., que in premissis et circa ea de Iure seu consuetudine hactenus usitatis n'cc'ria fuerint seu q'mo'l't oportuna, etiamsi Mandatu. de se magis exigant speciale quam Superius est expressu., promittimusq: nos,

ratum, gratum, et firmu. perpetuo habitur. totum et quicquid d'ci procu'res n'ri seu eorum alter fecerint seu fecerit in premissis vel aliquo premissorum sub ypotheca et obligatione o'ium et sing'lorum Bonorum n'rorum tam p'ntiumq: futurorum, et in ea parte Cautionem exponimus per p'ntes, In cuius rei Testimonium Sigillum n'rum p'ntibus apponi fecimus. Dat. in Manerio n'ro de Lambehith Winton: Dioc. secundo die Mensis Januarij Anno d'ni secundu. Computatione. Eccl'ie Anglicane Mill'imo. Quingen° Quinquagesimo nono Et n're Cons. Anno primo.

*Record of Archbishop Parker's Consecration from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

RITUM ET CÆREMONIARUM

ORDO in Consecrando Reverendissimo in Christo Patre Matthæo Parker, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, in sacello suo apud Manerium suum de Lambeth, die Dominico xvii° viz. die mensis Decembris, Anno D'ni 1559, habitus.

Principio, Sacellum tapetibus ad orientem adornabatur; solum verò panno rubro insternebatur; mensa quoque sacris peragendis necessaria, tapete pulvinarique ornata, ad orientem sita erat.

Quatuor præterea cathedræ quatuor Episcopis, quibus munus consecrandi Archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad austrum orientalis sacelli partis erant positæ.

* In reprinting this a few words which in the original are abbreviated are here transcribed and set forth at full length.

The following testimony was given in the seventeenth century to the originality and genuineness of this document:—

“We are fully persuaded that it is a true and genuine Record of the Rites and Ceremonies of Archbishop Parker's consecration, and as ancient as the date it bears.

“Signed. “HEN. PAMAN, Public Orator,

“RA. WIDDINGTON, Marg. Professor.

“HEN. MORE, D.D.

“Cambridge, Jan. 11, 1674.”

It may be here added that any one who has personally examined the document in question, and who is possessed of any knowledge of the style and character of sixteenth-century handwriting, could not fail to be perfectly satisfied of its genuineness and authenticity.

Scamnum præterea tapete et pulvinaribus instratum, cui Episcopi genubus flexis inniterentur, ante cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoque modo cathedra scamnumque tapete, pulvinarique ornatum, Archiepiscopo, ad borealem orientalis ejusdem sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

His rebus ita ordine suo instructis, mane circiter quintam aut sextam, per occidentalem portam ingreditur sacellum Archiepiscopus, togâ talari coccineâ caputioque indutus, quatuor præcedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus Episcopis, qui ejus consecrationi inservirent: (verbi gratiâ) Gulielmo Barlow, olim Bathonensi et Wellenensi Episcopo, nunc vero ad Cicestriensem Episcopatum electo; Joanne Scory; olim Cicestriæ Episcopo, et nunc ad Herefordiensem vocato; Milone Coverdallo, olim Exoniensi Episcopo; et Joanne Hodgskinne, Bedfordiæ Suffraganeo. Qui omnes postquam sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent preces continuò matutinæ per Andream Peirson Archiepiscopi capellanum clarâ voce recitabantur: quibus peractis Joannes Scory (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit; atque inde assumpto sibi in thema, *Seniores ergo, qui in vobis sunt, obsecro consenior, etc.*, non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finitâ concione, egrediuntur simul Archiepiscopus, reliquique quatuor Episcopi sacellum se ad sacram communionem paraturi; neque mora, confestim per borealem portam vestiarium ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt. Archiepiscopus nimirum linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Cicestrensis electus capâ sericâ ad sacra peragenda paratus, utebatur, cui ministrabant, operamque suam præbebant duo Archiepiscopi capellani, Nicolaus viz. Bullingham Lincolnæ Archidiaconus, et Edmundus Gest Cantuariensis quoque Archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter vestiti. Herefordiensis electus et Bedfordiensis suffraganeus lineis superpelliceis induebantur.

Milo Coverdallus non nisi togâ laneâ talari utebatur.

Atque hunc in modum vestiti et instructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt. Archiepiscopo genubus flexis ad infimum sacelli gradum sedente.

Finito tandem evangelio, Herefordiensis electus, Bedfordiæ suffraganeus, et Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) Archiepiscopum coram Cicestrien. electo, apud mensam in cathedra sedente, his verbis adduxerunt:—Reverende in Deo Pater, hunc virum pium pariter atque doctum tibi offerimus atque præsen-

tamus, ut Archiepiscopus consecratur. Postquam hæc dixissent proferebatur illicò Reginæ diploma, sive mandatum pro consecratione Archiepiscopi; quo per Reverendum Thomam Yale Legum Doctore perlecto, sacramentum de regio primatu, sive supremâ ejus auctoritate tuenda juxta statuta 10. anno regni sereniss. reginæ nostræ Elizabethæ promulgata, ab eodem Archiepiscopo exigebatur; quod cum ille solemniter tactis corporaliter sacris evangeliiis, conceptis verbis præstitisset, Cicestren: electus quædam præfatus, atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad litanias decantandas choro respondente se accinxit. Quibus finitis post quæstiones aliquot Archiepiscopo per Cicestren: electum propositas, et post orationes et suffragia quædam juxta formam libri auctoritate parlamenti editi apud Deum habita, Cicestriensis, Herefordiensis, suffraganeus Bedfordiensis, et Milo Coverdallus manibus Archiepiscopo impositis: Accipe, (inquiunt,) Spiritum Sanctum; et gratiam Dei, quæ jam per impositionem manuum in te est, excitare memento. Non enim timoris sed virtutis dilectionis et sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus. His itaque dictis, Biblia Sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt, hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes: In legendo hortando et docendo, vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue, quæ in hisce libris scripta sunt. Noli in his segnis esse, quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat, et palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te, et ad docendi munus spectant, diligenter: Hoc enim modo non teipsum solum, sed et reliquos auditores tuos per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvabis. Postquam hæc dixissent; ad reliqua communionis solemnia pergit Cicestriensis, nullum Archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum; cum quo communicabant unâ Archiepiscopus et quatuor illi Episcopi supra nominati, cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisque sacris egreditur per borealem orientalis sacelli partis portam Archiepiscopus, quatuor illis comitatus Episcopis qui eum consecraverant, et confestim ipsis iisdem stipatus Episcopis per eandem revertitur portam, albo episcopali superpelliceo crimeraque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus; circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) consutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestrensis et Herefordiensis suis episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo scilicet, et crimera uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus verò et Bedfordiæ suffraganeus togis solummodò talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde occidentalem portam versus Archie-

episcopus Thomæ Doyle Œconomo, Johanni Baker Thesaurario, et Johanni Marche compute rotulario, singulis singulos albos dedit baculos : hoc scilicet modo eos muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

His itaque hunc ad modum, ordine suo ut jam ante dictum est peractis, ex occidentalem portam sacellum egreditur Archiepiscopus, generosioribus quibusvis sanguine exejus familiâ eum præcedentibus, aliquibus verò à tergo eum sequentibus.

Acta gesta que hæc erant omnia in præsentia Reverendorum in Christo patrum Edmundi Gryndall Londinensis Episcopi electi, Richardi Cocks, Eliensis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorniensis electi, Anthonii Huse armigeri principalis et primarii registrarii dicti Archiepiscopi; Thomæ Argall, Armigeri, Registrarii Curie prærogativæ Cantuariensis; Thomæ Willet et Johannis Incent Notariorum publicorum et aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

WITH regard to the Records in Archbishop Parker's Register in the Lambeth Library relating to Parker's own consecration transcribed by the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee :

We, the undersigned, can testify that the documents commence on folio 2 of Parker's Register and end on folio 18a ; that the handwriting in which these appear is the same as that in which the Archiepiscopal Registers of Thomas Cranmer and Reginald Cardinal Pole are written ; that the Records in question are in the handwriting of the period ; and that we believe them to be from the pen of the Principal Registrar under Archbishops Cranmer, Pole, and Parker—viz., Anthony Huse.

S. WAYLAND KERSHAW, M.A., Librarian in Charge.

JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., Hon. Librarian to
the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Library, Lambeth Palace, November 5th, 1869.

No. XIII.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S BOOK, "DE ANTIQUITATE
BRITANNICÆ ECCLESİÆ."

1. This book, printed privately at Lambeth, by John Day, in 1572, which has been referred to and quoted from in the body of this treatise, is of considerable interest and of great rarity. The copy which has been made use of, is that numbered 959 amongst the MSS. of the Library of Lambeth Palace, and is filled with many letters and original documents relating to previous Archbishops, as well as to Archbishop Parker himself. It evidently either belonged to John Parker, the Archbishop's son, or was at some time in his keeping, for it is enriched with several MS. notes of interest and importance, and contains much curious original evidence regarding certain independent facts. It is clear that the MS. notes in question are by John Parker, because, as Dr. Ducarel declared, he had a copy of a certain volume of private notes and memoranda belonging to the said son of the Archbishop—at that time in the possession of Sir Robert Hales—and by a comparison of the handwriting this certain conclusion was drawn.

The volume contains a long MS. letter from Dr. Ducarel to Archbishop Secker, dated July 15th, 1758, giving detailed particulars of its contents. It contains amongst others, original letters of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir W. Cecil, Dr. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, Grindall, Bishop of London, Jewell, of Salisbury—some of which (as has been pointed out in Chapter XVIII.) bear directly on the fact of the Archbishop's consecration.

There are two other copies of the book in the British Museum; one which formerly belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and another to Lord Arundell. Dr. Dibdin, in his improved edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, gives the collation of two other copies, one of which belonged to Mr. Bindley, and was sold at the sale of his books for £45; the other in the Collection of Earl Spencer. The copy given by Archbishop Parker to Lord Arundell is in its original binding, stamped with the arms of England in the centre, and the device of the Prince of

Wales's feathers and motto at the corners. At the top of the title-page are the words "Ex dono Mathei Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi" in a bold and clear handwriting. At the bottom of the page the word "Arundell" is printed on the margin, with the autograph of "Lumley" immediately beneath. This copy varies both from that belonging to Queen Elizabeth, as also from the Lambeth copy, in some particulars. None of the leaves are printed on vellum; the arms of the Bishoprics and certain of the capital letters are illuminated: pages 41 and 42 are erroneously substituted for 47 and 48: the woodcut of the public schools, the two leaves containing a list of the books given by the Archbishop, and the leaf containing the errata are wanting. There is no "Life of Matthew" [Parker] in this copy, as in that at Lambeth, though his name occurs in the List of Bishops belonging to the University of Cambridge, as appointed and consecrated in 1559, as it does likewise, in the list of those who had served the office of Vice-Chancellor, A.D. 1545. In this copy, as also in that belonging to Queen Elizabeth, the portrait of the Archbishop by Hogenberg, is also wanting. It is said that only twenty-five copies of this book were published.

2. The small volume, presumed to have been written by John Stubbs, of Lincoln's Inn, is entitled "The Life off the 70. Archbishopp [*sic*] off Canterbury presentlye Sitting Englyshed, and to be added to the sixty-nine recently set forth in Latin, etc. Imprinted M.D. LXIII." Antony à Wood declares that it was translated by a thorough-paced separatist, with very vile notes added in the margin, endeavouring thereby to bring an odium on the Archbishop, and make him ridiculous for erecting his monument while he lived.

The following letter on the same subject, addressed to one of the Church newspapers, is worthy of special attention and careful preservation:—

SIR,—The entry respecting Parker's consecration in Machyn's Diary is confirmed by Thomas Sampson, who, writing on January 6th, 1560, to Peter Martyr, says, "The consecration of some Bishops has already taken place. I mention, as being known to you by name, Dr. Parker of Canterbury, Cox of Ely, Grindall of London, Sandys of Worcester. There is one other of the name of Barlowe, also a Bishop, but with whom you

are not acquainted. Pilkington of Winchester, Bentham of Coventry, and your friend Jewel of Salisbury, will follow shortly ; for they are soon, as I hear, to be *consecrated*, as we call it." (*The Zurich Letters*, p. 63, 8vo., 1842.) I possess a very rare little work, entitled, "The Life of the 70 Archbishops of Canterbury, presently sitting Englished and to be added to the 69, lately set forth in Latin. This number of seventy is so complete a number as it is great pity there should be one more ; but that as Augustine was the first, so Matthew might be the last. Imprinted MDLXXIII." This is a translation of the Latin Life, written either by the Archbishop himself, or by John Joscelyne, Parker's amanuensis ; and the marginal notes (which are highly satirical) appear to have been added by a violent Puritan. At the end of the volume is "A Table Englished out of that Legend of Canterbury tales entitled in Latin—'De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, et Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem.'" The first entry in this "Table" is as follows :

University.	Diocese.	Name.	Degree.	Order.	County.	Age.	Consecration.
Cambridge.	Canterbury.	Matth. Parker.	D. of Divinity.	Secular Priest.	Of Norwich.	lvi.	1559. Dec. 17.

At sig. B. iii., Parker's biographer remarks : "I rejoice especially for this his felicity, that whereas after Augustine the first Archbishop, he was the seventieth, yet he was both the first and only man that attained unto the Archbishopric dignity without any blemish or spot of old wives' superstitions and unprofitable ceremonies of the Romish Pope. For as every one of them entered first hereunto by Bulls of Approbation sent by the Pope ; so he was consecrated neither with these, nor any other old and idle ceremonies of Aaron's ornaments, neither with gloves, nor sandals, nor slippers, nor mitre, nor pall, but more chastely and religiously according to the purity of the Gospel ; four Bishops being appointed according to a law made in that behalf, which placed him in his chair with so godly promises protested by him as it is meet should be of a Gospel Pastor. And yet this his (that I may so term it) joyful and solemn day he spent not negligently, but with garments comely for a Bishop, with godly prayers of the ecclesiastical ministers

and people unto whom a sermon was made by a learned religious and a professed Bishop in divinity, chiefly to admonish the pastor of his duty and faithfulness towards his flock, and contrarywise, the flock of love, obedience, and reverence which they ought to yield to their pastor. The sermon ended, when the company had refreshed themselves by partaking the spiritual Banquet, they made an end with earnest prayers unto God that the function, which was laid on him by the clergy, might chiefly tend to the glory of God, to the salvation of Christian flock, and the joyful testimony of his own conscience by faithful executing of his office when it shall happen that he shall depart unto his Lord to whom he vowed himself. And the very same solemnity and manner of consecration he used toward his brethren Bishops upon whom afterwards he laid his hand."

This account—a very different one to the Nag's Head Fable—was published within sixteen years of the date of the consecration of Parker, and before his decease, which took place in May, 1575.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

J. FULLER RUSSELL.

Greenhithe, Sept. 27th, 1868.

No. XIV.

HENRY MACHYN'S DIARY.

Archbishop PARKER'S Consecration as Recorded in MACHYN'S Diary.

Two Articles from "NOTES AND QUERIES," Fourth Series, ii., Nov. 7th, and Nov. 21st, 1861.

1. My attention has been directed by a friend to an article entitled "Anglican Sacerdotalism" published in the Roman Catholic periodical called *The Month* for September, 1868. The object of the writer is to show how utterly vain, in his opinion, are the claims of "the Anglicans" to be legitimate priests of the Christian church; and the great point in view is to break the chain of episcopal succession at the period of the English Reformation. The writer endeavours, at considerable length, to suggest fresh doubts in favour of the scandalous story known as the Nag's Head Consecration; whilst, on the other hand, he is not unprepared even to discredit the official Record of Archbishop Parker's consecration, which stands on the leaves of the archiepiscopal Register at Lambeth. Dr. Lingard, it seems, determined the question too impartially, "judging as an historical critic" (p. 261), and not as a polemical partizan. But it is necessary, it is argued, that even a Record of such grave importance should be corroborated by other contemporary evidence; and such, it is added, is either deficient or doubtful. The writer remarks that—

"Stowe, the chronicler, was the friend and *protégé* of Parker. He records the consecration of Cardinal Pole, he mentions Parker's death, and dwells upon his memory: but he says not a word about his ever having been consecrated. It is common with Anglicans to write as if the story of the Nag's Head had given rise to the popular and universal belief in the defect in the consecration of Parker and his colleagues. This is entirely untrue. The story of the Nag's Head, if it arose from anything but a true tradition, arose out of the common belief, and witnessed to it: and it was only put forward a few years before the production of the Lambeth Register, which has every appearance of having been opportunely discovered—if not invented—in order to meet it. There are certain cases in which the silence of contemporaries is very significant, and this surely is such a case. We do not mean to say that it disproves the alleged fact, but we do not see how any man, endowed with common sense, can deny that it makes that fact very doubtful."

To this exceedingly characteristic course of argument, the following equally characteristic admission is appended as a foot note :—

“Machyn’s *Diary*, we believe, certainly mentions the ceremony in question, but we understand that some doubts exist as to the state of the manuscript.”

Now, without entering further into the thankless and fruitless attempt to convince those who

“Being convinced against their will,
Are of the same opinion still.”

it is merely to the last disingenuous and jesuitical insinuation that I wish to give a direct contradiction. The state of the original manuscript of Machyn’s *Diary* is perfectly well known ; and may be every day examined in the library of the British Museum. It was one of those volumes which were seriously injured in the fire from which the Cottonian Collection suffered, but it was carefully repaired, and again rendered accessible, by Sir Frederic Madden in the year 1829. In 1848 its contents were printed *verbatim et literatim* by the Camden Society, showing all the imperfections resulting from the fire, but at the same time supplying in brackets such of the lost portions as had been formerly extracted by our industrious and conscientious ecclesiastical historian, John Strype.

The passages which relate to Archbishop Parker in the month of December, 1559, are altogether three. The first, which perhaps mentioned his election, is partly gone ; but the second, which records his consecration, is perfect excepting the single word Canterbury, and it distinctly states that the ceremony took place “at Lambeth.” The three stand as follows :—

Park]er electyd byshop of Canturbere.

The xvij day of Dessember was the nuw byshope of [Canterbury] doctur Parker was mad(e) ther at Lambeth.

The xx day of Dessember a-for non, was sant Thomas evyn, my lord of Canturbere whent to Bow chyrche and there were v nuw byshopes mad(e).

Machyn’s record of Parker’s consecration is therefore still perfect in preservation as well as distinction in assertion : and his date of the 17th of December coincides with the process recorded in the Register of the archiepiscopate.

In regard to the original purport of Machyn’s preceding paragraph, which is of less importance, there may be some

doubt, for Machyn had actually recorded the election, or destination, of the new bishops, including Parker, six months before:—

“The xxiiij day of June [1559] was elected vj nuw byshopes, com from beyond the see, master Parker bysshope of Canturbere, master Gryndalle bysshope of London, doethur Score bysshope of Harford, Barlow (of) Chechastur, doctur Bylle of Salysbere, doctur Cokes (of) Norwyche.”

Where the name of Bylle is a mistake for Jewell.

I shall not attempt to pursue the controversy further, except by making the two following remarks. First, as to Stowe, if “he records the consecration of Cardinal Pole,” he records it as an event of extraordinary historical importance. The ordinary consecrations of bishops will scarcely be found elsewhere in his pages. Secondly, as to Machyn, I will merely retort upon the writer in *The Month*, by again quoting one of his sentences, with the alteration of a single word: “There are certain cases in which the *testimony* of contemporaries is very significant, and this surely is such a case.”—THE EDITOR OF MACHYN’S DIARY, [*i.e.*, JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A.]

[The foolish and absurd story known as the Nag’s Head Fable was first told in 1604, forty years after Abp. Parker’s consecration. In addition to the testimony to its validity given in the Register of the See of Canterbury, as well as by Machyn, there is an Account of the Rites and Ceremonies which took place at his Consecration, carefully preserved among the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and called “*Historiola*.” It was written by the archbishop’s direction about the year 1569, and has here and there the archbishop’s own directions. In 1841 it was printed by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with an Introductory Preface and Notes. As to the official Register, Archbishop Abbot, in the year 1614, invited Colleton, the arch-priest, with two or three other Roman Catholic missionaries, to Lambeth, and submitted the Register to their inspection, in presence of six of his own episcopal colleagues. (Dodd, ii. 177; Godwin, p. 219.) It was also examined by so acute an historical critic as Dr. Lingard, who was convinced of its authenticity, and pronounced that “the several objections against it are founded on misconception or ignorance, that the Register agrees in every particular with what we know of the history of the times; and that there exists not the semblance of a reason for pronouncing it a forgery.” *Vide* Three Letters on Protestant Ordinations by Dr. Lingard, inserted in *The Catholic Magazine and Review* of 1834, vol. v. pp. 499, 704, 774, which as historical papers well merit republication in a separate form.] ED. OF NOTES AND QUERIES, [*i.e.*, W. J. THOMS, Esq., F.S.A., Librarian to the House of Lords.] pp. 435, 436.

2. *Reply to the above.*

The editor of Machyn's *Diary* gives a direct contradiction to the doubts which Dr. Newman understood to exist as to the state of the manuscript. As the above editor quotes from one Catholic periodical, *The Month*, I may be allowed to refer him and the readers of "N. & Q." to another, the *Weekly Register*. In the number for Oct. 10, appeared a long letter, signed "Ignotus," entering copiously into the controversy of the validity of Anglican orders, and touching upon Machyn's *Diary* among other points. In the number for Oct. 17, a letter was inserted on the same subject from a writer under the initials "B. J. F.," which he had sent to *The Times*; but which, of course, *The Times* would not insert, though it had previously printed a letter from the Rev. W. Denton, referring to Machyn's *Diary* with a feeling of triumph. In fairness I mention that, in the number for Oct. 31, a long answer to "Ignotus" appeared, signed "M. A. Dunelm." Finally, in the number for Nov. 7, appeared a rejoinder from "Ignotus" of great length.

My object in giving the above references, is, to enable all who wish to judge impartially to see the matter of Machyn's *Diary* discussed on both sides. I have no wish to enter into controversy; but since the question has been already introduced, I must beg permission to make a few observations, without imitating the EDITOR OF MACHYN'S DIARY in his accusations of "disingenuous and jesuitical insinuation," which charges ought to have found no place in the pages of "N. & Q." If the reader will go through what is said of the *Diary* in the above articles in the *Weekly Register*, he will see that there are very substantial grounds for distrusting the state of the manuscript. "B. J. F." states that he carefully examined it, and detected interpolations. After the words, "doctur Parker was," the words "mad ther at Lambeth" have been added by another and a later hand; and in like manner, the third entry ended with the words "there were v nuw byshopes," but the same hand has added the word "mad." "Ignotus," following up the subject (Nov. 7), says that he also has examined the MS., and that the above interpolations are manifest:—

"In each case," he says, "the difference in writing and ink is clear, whether looked at with the naked eye or examined through a magnifying

glass. Fraud is to my mind so evidently proved as utterly to destroy the credibility of the entries."

He goes on to say that Strype had had uncontrolled possession of the MS. ; he suppressed the evidences of interpolation ; and knowing, as we do, the gross untruths which fill the pages of Strype, he was very likely to tamper with the MS. But whether *he* did or not, it *has* been tampered with, and its credibility destroyed, so that its entries prove nothing.

It must be further observed that "Machyn" does not say that he was present ; he merely makes notes of the news of the day. No one denies the *report* of Parker's consecration : it was necessary to make it believed ; but the entry of an individual upon such report is no proof that the consecration actually took place. The "Editor of Machyn" observes that Stow records indeed the consecration of Cardinal Pole "as an event of extraordinary historical importance ;" but that the ordinary consecrations of bishops will scarcely be found in his pages. But surely from an Anglican point of view, the consecration of the archbishop of a new hierarchy, if it ever took place, must have been an event of historical importance well worth recording.

I say advisedly *if it ever took place*, because there are grave reasons to doubt it. I follow where the editor of "N. & Q." leads in his note appended to the foregoing article about Machyn's *Diary*, and refer him to Canon Williams's *Letters on Anglican Orders* generally, and more particularly to his Letter xvii. headed "Parker's Register rent in twain," and if he will only seriously consider the contents of that book, he will doubt also.—F. C. H. [*i.e.*, F. C. HUSENBETH, D.D., Vicar General of the R. C. diocese of Northampton.]

["N. & Q." not being a fitting place for discussing the validity of Anglican Orders ; and the fact of Archbishop Parker's consecration [admitted by Lingard and Tierney] being in our opinion as clearly established by contemporary evidence as any historical fact can be, we shall confine ourselves to the real question at issue between THE EDITOR OF MACHYN'S DIARY and the writer in *The Month*, namely, Whether or not the MS. of that Diary has been tampered with ?

In consequence of recent publications upon this subject, the MS. has been examined by various gentlemen of the most unquestionable respectability and equally unquestionable skill and experience in palæography (several of them men who pass their lives in the examination of such documents), and they bear us out in stating unhesitatingly, that not only has the MS. of

Machyn *never been tampered with*, but THAT THERE IS NOT THE SMALLEST PRETENCE FOR ASSERTING THAT IT HAS!

Nay more, we are certain that, if F. C. H. had himself looked at the original *Diary*, he would have seen that there were no "substantial grounds for distrusting the state of the manuscript;" and we should have been spared his communication, and the necessity for thus replying to it.—ED. "N. & Q."—pp. 493—494.

Testimony to the Genuineness of HENRY MACHYN'S MS. Diary.

MS. Department, British Museum,
21st September, 1869.

DEAR SIR,

I have examined the entries under the 17th and 20th days of December, 1559, in the Diary known under the name of Henry Machyn, and preserved in the Cottonian MS. Vitellius F.V., and am satisfied that, excepting the loss of a few letters at the ends of the lines from early injury by fire, they stand as originally written, without interpolation or alteration.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

(Signed) EDWARD A. BOND.

To the Rev. Dr. LEE.
etc., etc., etc.

WE, the undersigned, have likewise examined the above entries in Machyn's Diary, and are of the same opinion as Mr. Bond.

(Signed) E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.
HARRY L. D. WARD.
N. E. L. A. HAMILTON.
RICHARD R. HOLMES.
W. DE G. BIRCH.
C. H. E. CARMICHAEL.

British Museum. MS. Department.
September 21st, 1869.

No. XV.

BREVE OF POPE JULIUS III. TO CARDINAL POLE.*

* * * *Those concluding portions specially relating to the Validity of Anglican Ordinations are given in English below.*

JULIUS PP. III.—Dilecte fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Dudum cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Maria, Angliæ tunc princeps, regina declarata fuisset, et speraretur regnum Angliæ, quod sævâ regum tyrannide, ab unione sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ separatum fuerat, ad ovile gregis Domini, et ejusdem ecclesiæ unionem, ipsâ Mariâ primùm regnante, redire posse: Nos te præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, ac multâ doctrinâ insignem, ad eandem Mariam reginam, et universum Angliæ regnum, de fratrum nostrorum consilio et unanimi consensu, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum de latere destinavimus; tibi que inter cætera, omnes et singulos utriusque sexûs, tam laïcas quam ecclesiasticas, sæculares, et quorumvis ordinum regulares personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscumque statûs, gradûs, conditionis et qualitatis exstiterint, ac quacumque ecclesiastica etiam episcopali, archiepiscopali, et patriarchali, aut mundana, etiam marchionali, ducali, aut regia dignitate præfulgerent, etiam capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas forent, quarumcumque hæresium aut novarum sectarum professores, aut in eis culpabiles vel suspectas ac credentes, receptatores et fautores eorum, etiamsi relapsæ fuissent, eorum errorem cognoscentes et de illis dolentes, ac ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognitâ in eis verâ et non fictâ aut simulatâ pœnitentiâ in omnibus et singulis per eos perpetratis (hæreses et ab eadem fide apostasias, blasphemias, et alios quoscumque errores etiam sub generali sermone non venientes sapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, excès-

* This document is taken from the French translation of Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, printed at Amsterdam in 12mo. in 1687, vol. 4, p. 1068. The spelling has been slightly altered.

sibus et delictis, necnon excommunicationum, suspensionum interdictorum, et aliis ecclesiasticis ac temporalibus, etiam corporis afflictivis, et capitalibus sententiis, censuris et pœnis in eos, præmissorum occasione, à jure vel ab homine latis vel promulgatis, etiamsi in iis viginti et plus annis insorduissent, et eorum absolutio nobis et divinæ sedi, et per literas in die cœnæ Domini legi consuetas reservata existeret, in utroque conscientiæ videlicet et contentioso foro, plenariè absolvendi et liberandi, ac aliorum Christi-fidelium consortio aggregandi : necnon cum eis super irregularitate per eos præmissorum occasione, etiam quia sic ligati missas et alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus et cæremonias ab ecclesia eatenus probatas et usitatas celebrassent, aut illis aliàs se miscuissent, contracta ; necnon bigama per eosdem ecclesiasticos, sæculares vel regulares, verè aut fictè, seu aliàs qualitercumque inversa (etiamsi ex eo quòd clerici in sacris constituti, cum viduis vel aliis corruptis matrimonium contraxisse prætenderetur), rejectis et expulsis tamen prius uxoribus sic de facto copulatis : quodque bigamià et irregularitate, ac aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in eorum ordinibus, dummodò ante eorum lapsum in hæresim hujusmodi ritè et legitimè promoti vel ordinati fuissent, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque et qualitercunque etiam curata beneficia secularia vel regularia, ut prius, dummodò super eis alteri jus quæsitum non existeret, retinere ; et non promoti ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratûs ordines, ab eorum ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri, ac beneficia ecclesiastica, si iis alias canonicè conferrentur, recipere et retinere valerent, dispensandi et indulgendi ; ac omnem infamiæ et inhabilitatis maculam sive notam, ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitùs et omninò abolendi ; necnon ad pristinos honores, dignitates, famam, et patriam, et bona etiam confiscata, in pristinumque, et eum in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, statum restituendi, reponendi, et reintegrandi ; ac eis, dummodò corde contriti eorum errata et excessus alicui per eos eligendo catholico confessori sacramentaliter confiterentur, ac pœnitentiam salutarem, eis per ipsum confessorem propterea injungendam omninò adimplerent, omnem publicam confessionem abjuracionem, renunciationem, et pœnitentiam jure debitam arbitrio tuo moderandi, vel in totum remittendi.

“Necnon communitates et universitates, ac singulares personas

quascumque à quibusvis illicitis pactionibus et conventionibus per eos cum dominis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorem quomodolibet initis, et iis præstitis juramentis et homagiis, illorumque omnium observatione, et si quem eatenus occasione eorum incurrissent perjurii reatum, etiam absolvendi, et jura-menta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quoscumque regulares et religiosos, etiam in hæresim hujusmodi, ut præfertur, lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictæ sedis licentia vagantes, ab apostasiæ reatu et excommunicationis, aliisque censuris ac pœnis ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incursis, pariter absolvendi: ac cum eis ut alicui-beneficio ecclesiastico curato de illud obtinentis consensu, etiam in habitu clerici sæcularis, habitum suum regularem sub honesta toga presbyteri secularis deferendo, deservire, et extra eadem regularia loca remanere liberè et licitè possint, dispensandi.

“Neon quibusvis personis, etiam ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus et aliis anni temporibus et diebus, quibus usus ovorum et carniū est de jure prohibitus, butyro, et caseo, et aliis lacticiniis, ac dictis ovis et carnibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui catholicus existeret, medici consilio, aut si locorum et personarum qualitate inspectâ ex defectu piscium, aut olei, vel indispositione personarum earumdem, seu aliâ causâ legitimâ, id tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti et vesci possint, indulgendi et concedendi.

“Neon per te in præteritis duntaxat casibus, aliquos clericos sæculares, tantum presbyteros, diaconos, aut subdiaconos, qui matrimonium cum aliquibus virginibus, vel corruptis sæcularibus etiam mulieribus de facto eatenus contraxissent, considerata aliquâ ipsorum singulari qualitate, et cognitâ eorum verâ ad Christi fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis, ex quibus aliis præsertim clericis in sacris ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis quibus non licet uxores habere, scandalum omninò non generetur, citra tamen altaris, ac alia sacerdotum ministeria, et titulos beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum ordinum exercitio sublato, ab excommunicationis sententiâ, et aliis reatibus propterea incursis, injunctâ inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentiâ salutari, absolvendi, ac cum eis, dummodò alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe conjugii, quod inter se matrimonium legitimè contrahere, et in eo, post, quam contractum foret, licitè remanere possent, prolem exinde

legitimam decernendo, misericorditer dispensandi: ac quæcumque beneficia ecclesiastica, tam sæcularia quàm regularia, et quæ per rectores catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen rectorum catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum præjudicio-cuicumque alteri beneficio ecclesiastico ob ejus fructus, tenuitatem, aut hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu studio universali, vel scholis literariis, uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, aut fructus, redditus, et proventus, seu bonorum beneficiorum dividendi, separandi et dismembrandi, ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum, et dismembratorum partem aliis beneficiis seu hospitalibus, vel studiis aut scholis, seu piis usibus similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuò applicandi et appropriandi.

“Ac cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius, si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi: ac quidquid ex concordiiis et transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in ecclesiæ cujus essent bona, vel in studiorum universalium, aut scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios usus convertendi, omniaque et singula alia, in quæ in præmissis et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi et exercendi: necnon catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas Deum timentes, fide insignes, et literarum scientiâ præditas, ac gravitate morum conspicuas, et ætate venerandâ, de quarum probitate et circumspectione, ac charitatis zelo plena fiducia conspici posset, ad præmissa omnia, cum simili vel limitata potestate (absolutione et dispensatione clericorum circa conubia, ac unione beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum et bonorum separatione, et applicatione, ac concordia cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum et eorum liberatorum, duntaxat exceptis) substituendi et subdelegandi: ac diversas alias facultates per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in forma brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur.

“Verùm cum tu ad partes Flandriæ, ex quibus brevissima ad regnum transfretatio existit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus nobis notis causis inibi aliquandiu subsistere habeas, ac à nonnullis nimium forsân scrupulosis, hæsitetur, an tu in partibus hujusmodi subsistens, prædictis ac aliis tibi concessis facultatibus uti, ac in eodem regno locorum ordinarios, aut

alias personas, ut præmittitur, qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te juxta dictarum literarum continentiam pro tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum prædictarum tenorem substituere, et delegare possis: Nos causam tuæ subsistentiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, et singularum literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, circum-
 spectioni tuæ quòd quandiu in eisdem partibus de licentia nostra moram traxeris, legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipsum regnum existens, omnibus et singulis prædictis, et quibusvis aliis tibi concessis, et quæ per præsentis tibi conceduntur, facultatibus, etiam erga quoscunque archiepiscopos, episcopos, ac abbates, aliosque ecclesiarum tam sæcularium quàm quorumvis ordinum regularium, necnon monasteriorum et aliorum locorum regularium prælatos, non secùs ac erga alios inferiores clericos, uti possis, necnon erga alias personas in singulis literis prædictis quovis modo nominatas, ad te pro tempore recurrentes vel mittentes, etiam circa ordines quos nunquam aut malè susceperunt, et munus consecrationis quod iis ab aliis episcopis vel archiepiscopis etiam hæreticis et schismaticis, aut aliàs minùs ritè et non servatâ formâ ecclesiæ consuetâ impensum fuit, etiam si ordines et munus hujusmodi etiam circa altaris ministerium temerè executi sint, per te ipsum vel alios, ad id à te pro tempore deputatos, liberè uti, ac in eodem regno tot quot tibi videbuntur locorum ordinarios, vel alias personas, ut præmittitur, qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te, eis pro tempore concessis (citra tamen eas quæ solum tibi, ut præfertur, concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, liberè utantur, et eas exerceant et exequantur aliàs, juxta ipsarum literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere et subdelegare.

“Necnon de personis quorumcunque episcoporum vel archiepiscoporum, qui metropolitani aut alias cathedrales ecclesias de manu laïcorum etiam schismaticorum, *et præsertim qui de Henrici regis et Eduardi ejus nati receperunt, et eorum regimini et administrationi se ingesserunt,** et eorum fructus, redditus et proventus etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri archiepiscopi

* “And especially those who having received Churches from the hands of King Henry and Edward, his son, have intruded themselves into the government and administration of the same.”

aut episcopi temerè et de facto usurpando, etiamsi in hæresim, aut præfertur, inciderint, seu antea hæretici fuerint; *postquam per te unitati Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Restituti exstiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi alias digni et idonei videbuntur,** eisdem metropolitanis et aliis cathedralibus ecclesiis denuò, necnon quibusvis aliis cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illarum præsulorum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria regina juxta consuetudines ipsius regni, tibi supplicaverit autoritate nostra providere, ipsasque personas eisdem ecclesiis in episcopos aut archiepiscopos præficere: Ac cum iis qui ecclesias cathedrales et metropolitanas de manu laicorum, etiam schismaticorum, ut præfertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis, ad quas eas alias ritè transferri contigerit, cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis, in episcopos vel archiepiscopos præesse, ipsasque ecclesias in spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare, ac munere consecrationis eis hactenùs impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impensum exstiterit, ab episcopis vel archiepiscopis catholicis per te nominandis suscipere liberè et licitè possint. Necnon cum quibusvis per te, ut præmittitur, pro tempore absolutis et rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus et excessibus præteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis in episcopos et archiepiscopos præfici et præesse, illasque in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare; ac ad quoscunque etiam sacros et presbyteratùs ordines promovere, et in illis aut per eos jam licèt minùs ritè susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, necnon munus consecrationis suscipere, et illo uti libere et licitè valeant, dispensare etiam liberè et licitè possis, plenam et liberam apostolicam autoritatem per præsentem concedimus facultatem et potestatem:† non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus

* "After by you they shall have been restored to the unity of Holy Mother Church, and you shall have thought good to reinstate them, if in other respects they shall seem to you to be worthy and fit."

† "Over Cathedral, even over Metropolitan Churches, as Bishops and Archbishops, they may freely and legally preside, and may rule and govern the same church both in things spiritual as well as in things temporal and use the gift of consecration already bestowed upon them. Also with any who by you for the time have been absolved and rehabilitated as aforesaid, that their past errors and excesses notwithstanding, they may freely and lawfully be appointed and preside over any Cathedral, even Metropolitan Churches as Bishops and Archbishops, and rule and govern them in the

apostolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in singulis literis præteritis volumus non obstare, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

“ Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die 8 Martii 1554, Pontificatûs Nostri anno quinto.”

same spiritual and temporal things; and to any, even sacred and Priestly Orders advance, and in the same, or Orders by them already, though irregularly, received, even in the Ministry of the Altar serve, and the gift of Consecration receive, and the same freely and lawfully use, that you may freely and lawfully dispense, we grant you by these Presents full and free Apostolic authority, permission, and power.”

No. XVI.

DR. LINGARD ON ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S
CONSECRATION.

THE two following Letters from the *Catholic Magazine*, written by Dr. Lingard, appropriately supplement that which has already appeared as a Note at p. 180 of this treatise, and which stood as the first of the series :—

LETTER No. II.

GENTLEMEN,—I have read with attention, and occasionally with surprise, the communications of “Upsilon,” and “T. H.,” and “T. J. B.” with respect to the Consecration of Archbishop Parker. What impression they may have made on the minds of your readers, it is not for me to divine : as far as regards myself, they have not shaken my confidence in the accuracy of my original statement.

To that statement my opponents object, if I understand them rightly, on different grounds : “Upsilon” and “T. H.,” appear to allow that some sort of consecration may have preceded Parker’s assumption of the archiepiscopal office. With them, the great error of which I have been guilty, is that I state Barlow to have been a Catholic Bishop, in the reign of Henry VIII., whereas they are positive that he never received episcopal consecration at all. But “T. J. B.” goes much further. He contends that I am wrong in almost every particular : that I have suffered myself to be misled by false and spurious documents, and that I have presumed to contradict the best-informed amongst the Catholic contemporary writers.

To begin with Barlow. Why, I will ask, are we to believe that, of all the Bishops who lived in the long reign of Henry VIII., Barlow alone held and exercised the episcopal office without episcopal consecration ? He was elected, and his election was confirmed in conformity with the statute of the 25th of that reign ; why should we suppose that he was not also consecrated in conformity with the same statute ? Was

Cranmer the man to incur the penalty of *præmunire* without cause? Or was Henry a prince to allow the law to be violated with impunity? The act had been passed in support of the King's supremacy, and to cut off all recourse to Rome. Most certainly the transgression of its provisions would have marked out Barlow and Cromwell as fautors of the Papal authority, and have exposed them to the severest punishment.

For ten years Barlow performed all the sacred duties, and exercised all the civil rights of a consecrated Bishop. He took his seat in Parliament, and Convocation, as Lord Bishop of St. David's; he was styled by Gardiner, "his brother of St. David's;" he ordained priests; he was one of the officiating Bishops at the consecration of Dr. Buckley. Yet we are now called upon to believe that he was no bishop: and consequently to believe that no one objected to his votes, though they were known to be illegal; or to his ordinations, though they were known to be invalid; or to his performance of the episcopal functions, though it was well known that each such function was a sacrilege!

But why are we to believe these improbable, these incredible, suppositions? Is there any positive proof that he was no Bishop? None in the world. All that can be said is, that we cannot find any positive register of his consecration. So neither can we of many others, particularly of Bishop Gardiner. Did any one ever call in question the consecration of those Bishops on that account? Why should we doubt the consecration of Barlow, and not that of Gardiner? I fear that the only reason is this: Gardiner did not consecrate Parker, but Barlow did.

In the reign of Edward VI., Barlow married, and became a Reforming Bishop. On the accession of Mary, he was thrown into prison; but feeling no desire of the crown of martyrdom, professed himself a sincere penitent, and tendered the resignation of his bishopric. On the 16th of March, 1554, he was deprived, by judgment of the Royal Commissioners, and, sometime afterwards, was discharged. This I mention, that the reader may bear in mind that, at the accession of Elizabeth, he was no longer *My Lord Bishop*, but *plain Mr. Barlow*, as he is called by Secretary Cecil. (Strype, I. 155.)

Let us now proceed to Parker, with respect to whom you very justly observe, that I contend, not for the *validity*, but only for the *fact*, of his consecration. On the 18th of July, 1559,

Queen Elizabeth sent her *congé d'eslire* to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. They assembled on the 22nd. Only four of the Prebendaries met the Dean on that day: the other seven, probably Catholics, were absent. They were called thrice at the door; and, not answering to their names, were pronounced contumacious. The four present then vested the power of election in the Dean, who chose the Queen's nominee, Dr. Parker, and whose choice was unanimously approved. On the 3rd of August the Chapter assembled again, and appointed proxies, who, on the 6th, waited on Parker at *Lambeth*, to notify to him his election. He accepted it, both in words, and by a written instrument. All these facts appear on the face of several documents, which are entered in Parker's Register. I will only observe that, if we find Parker at *Lambeth* before his election, we should not be surprised to find him there afterwards. What was there to prevent the Queen from allowing him to reside at *Lambeth* previous to his consecration, though she did not restore his temporalities till the 21st of March, 1560?

Parker was now Archbishop-elect. Your correspondents seem to think, that nothing more was necessary; that he looked on confirmation and consecration as matters of perfect indifference; and that, provided he could continue to deceive the Queen, this election would give him all the rights and all the powers of an Archbishop. We shall soon see that he understood the law much better than they do. The Act of the 25th Henry VIII. had been revived lately; and, till he had been confirmed and consecrated, in conformity with that Act, he would still remain in his former station. The election alone gave neither rank nor authority.

On September 9th, the Queen sent a Commission to Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, Gilbert of Bath and Wells, David of Peterborough, Anthony of Llandaff, William Barlow, Bishop, and John Scorey, Bishop, ordering them to confirm and consecrate Parker Archbishop-elect of Canterbury. This Commission, "T. J. B.", for three reasons, suspects to be a forgery. (Mag. p. 642.) I shall not stop to consider these reasons, because no surmises or conjectures can possibly nullify a fact. Now the existence of this Commission is a fact. It is not only to be found in Parker's Register; it exists on the Patent Roll of the 1st of Elizabeth in the Rolls' Chapel; and, what is more, the very Minute from which it was drawn is in the State Paper Office:

and in that Minute, though "T. J. B." is sure that Bishop Tunstall could never have been called upon to perform such an office, the name of Tunstall appears in the handwriting of Parker himself.

This Commission was not executed. Whatever reasons might then be alleged, we cannot fail to discover the true cause in the repugnance of the Catholic Bishops. They would no more confirm and consecrate Parker, than the Catholic Prebendaries of Canterbury would elect him for Archbishop. They had been hitherto spared from the punishment inflicted on their brethren; but now their disobedience was visited with proofs of the royal displeasure. Tunstall was deprived on the 29th of September. (Strype, 144.) Bourne, of Bath and Wells, soon after the 18th of October (Rym. xv. 545), and Pool, of Peterborough about the middle of November. (Collier, ii. 431.) These dates must serve as a sufficient answer to "T. J. B.'s" note of admiration, at the bottom of page 642.

But the punishment of the Catholic prelates did not remove the difficulty. Secretary Cecil consulted Parker on the subject. His answer is in the State Paper Office, and has been published by Strype, without date. (Strype's *Parker* 40.) In it Parker is far from considering consecration as an indifferent matter: for he replies, that the Queen, in conformity with the 25th of Henry VIII., must direct letters patent to an Archbishop, or to four Bishops, to confirm and consecrate the Archbishop-elect; that the consecration must be performed on such Sunday as the consecrator, with the assent of the consecrated, shall accord, and in such place as shall be thought most requisite; and that the Order of King Edward's book should be observed, "for that there was none other especially made in the last Parliament." To this he adds, "the restitution of the temporalities is done after the consecration, as it seems to me by the same Act."

It was a custom with Cecil to write notes on the margin of the letters which he received. There are two, in his hand, on the margin of Parker's answer. Of King Edward's book he remarks, "this is not established by Parliament," which was true; though it might be replied, that still it was not illegal; because the Act of Mary, which rendered it illegal, had been repealed. The other note regards the consecration. There is no Archbishop, nor four Bishops now to be had; "wherefore

quærendum." There were, indeed, bishops to be had, but such as had been deposed by Queen Mary, and never restored. It is plain, therefore, that he understood, by the word Bishops, what must have been understood by the original framers of the Act, that is, Bishops in the actual and lawful exercise of their office.

The inquiry ("*wherefore quærendum*") was accordingly made, and as we learn from an instrument preserved in the Register, six Doctors of canon and civil law gave it as their opinion, that, in such extraordinary circumstances, the Queen might by virtue of her supremacy, dispense with the rigour of the law, and empower the deposed Bishops to execute the offices required by the Statute. Hence, on December 6th, William Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath, now elect of Chichester; John Scorey, formerly Bishop of Chichester, now of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter; Richard, Suffragan of Bedford; and John, of Thetford; and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, received a formal and legal commission commanding them, or four of them to confirm and consecrate Parker the Archbishop-elect; and to it was appended the sanatory clause which I have already noticed in p. 499. It is in vain to attempt to disprove this commission. The existence like that of the former, is a fact. It is to be found not only in the Register, but in the original patent roll of the 2nd of Elizabeth, in the Rolls' Chapel. I will, however, notice the objections against it. 1°. If Barlow were a true Bishop, he must have been of older standing than Kitchen, and therefore, in a real commission, would have been named before him. Most certainly not. Kitchen was a Bishop in the actual exercise of his authority: Barlow had been deposed, and was not restored. Kitchen was a lord of Parliament: the other was plain Mr. Barlow. 2°. Barlow and Scorey, in the commission, were simply called Bishops, now they were called Bishops-elect. But what is there wrong in this? The designation in each was true. 3°. The second commission does not declare that the first had been legally annulled. Why should it? It was only in force twenty days, which had expired two months before. 4°. Why should seven Bishops be appointed, when four only were required? Such was the custom to appoint a greater number than required, that the object of the commission might not be defeated by death, or sickness, or absence of one

or more. 5°. The real name of the Suffragan of Bedford was John, not Richard. So it was, and so he is always called in the Acts. Richard was plainly an error of the clerk ; and such errors are very common, as all persons, conversant with ancient documents, are aware. Nor does it follow that such misnomer would invalidate the commission. There was but one Suffragan of Bedford, and Hodgkins was sufficiently pointed out by that designation.

This commission was issued on the 6th of December. On the 7th, Parker appointed his proxies to appear before the commissioners, who on the 9th, opened their court in the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow. The commission was read ; the powers of the proxies of the Dean and Chapter, and of the Archbishop-elect were verified ; proclamation for the attendance of all persons concerned was made thrice at the door ; witnesses, who testified to the good morals and great learning of Parker, were heard ; the whole process of his election was examined, and the election itself was, in conclusion, confirmed. The desire of confirmation is conceived in terms, which show, that the commissioners are well aware of the defect in their own qualification, inasmuch as they had been deprived, and never restored ; and therefore, they are careful to shelter themselves under the Queen's supremacy, declaring, that, through the supreme authority of the Sovereign to them delegated, they supply every defect, which there may have been in the election aforesaid, or in themselves, or in the state, condition, or faculty of any one of them, or against the laws of the Church, or the statutes of the realm. But here "T. J. B." exclaims, the decree has no date, either of time or place : it is, therefore, unworthy of credit. (Mag. p. 644.) But it has a date, and that both of time and place ; it is one of the several instruments, regarding the proceedings of the day, which are all entered at the same time under one common head : that is, " Things acted, had, and done in the business of the confirmation on the ninth day of December, in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow before the Reverend Fathers in Christ, the Queen's Commissioners in this behalf in presence of William Clark, Notary-Public, &c."

I have described all these proceedings at some length, that the reader may be aware of the high importance, which both the Government and Parker attached to the ceremony of con-

secration, and of the great care, which was taken to observe every accustomed and preliminary form, as far as circumstances would permit. At last, all difficulties had been surmounted: Prelates had been found to undertake the task: one part of it they had already executed; the other they were bound to execute in a few days under the penalty of *præmunire*: there remained no obstacle to the accomplishment of that, which the Government had so long laboured to effect: and yet, here we are requested to believe, that they refused to give a legal establishment to the new hierarchy, (for without the previous consecration of the Archbishop it could not be legally established,) and that, in place of it, they contented themselves with a mock ceremony performed by a drunken Prelate at a public house!

The fact, however, is that Parker was consecrated on the next Sunday but one, by the four commissioners, in the Chapel of Lambeth, and according to the Ordinal of Edward VI. This appears from the archiepiscopal register, from Parker's diary, from the "Antiquitates," and from the indisputable facts which I mentioned in my former communication. What can be opposed to these authorities? Any direct testimony? No: but that the passages in the register, the diary, and the printed book are fabrications. The charge of forgery is one easily made, and, therefore, requires strong proof to support it; it is the last refuge of the obstinate and the dishonest; and, therefore, if it be disproved, recoils with double force against those who make it. Let us then inquire what proofs are adduced of the pretended forgeries.

1^o Protestant writers never produced the authority of the register before the reign of James I.; which shews that it did not exist during the reign of Elizabeth; otherwise they would have produced it then. I may observe that this applies to the register only, and not to the other authorities; and, that it is at best but a suspicion—a suspicion, too, built on a false assumption. For why should Protestant writers have appealed to the register during the reign of Elizabeth, when (and I wish your correspondents to attend to the remark,) the great dispute was not respecting the *fact*, but respecting the *validity* of Parker's consecration? Of that the register says nothing. But when, in the reign of James, the story of the Nag's Head ordination became current among Catholics, and was even published in

print, it was natural that Protestants should have recourse to the register, to prove the manner in which the consecration was performed. It was then on the occasion of the doubts expressed by Catholics, that the register was exhibited to the archpriest and the three missionaries. Of this transaction different narratives have been given by opposite writers : but, even taking that which your correspondents have inserted in your pages, I consider the result highly favourable to the authenticity of the register. All that Father Lathwaite could say was, that he found himself unable to form any certain opinion : and, if this was the answer of one so prepossessed against the documents, so interested to prove it spurious, we may safely conclude, that there was nothing on the face of it to justify suspicion, nothing that wore the appearance of foul dealing. It may be that the written copy, said to have been promised, was never sent : but a written copy could not disclose more than the copies afterwards printed, and it was from the original chiefly that the proof of forgery was to have been drawn.

2°. The great argument of your correspondents is, that these three authorities are contradicted by the testimony of Catholic writers of the same time, who must have known the truth : and, therefore, if we admit their testimony, we must conclude that the opposite authorities are spurious. — In reply I will ask 1° is there a Catholic or Protestant *historian* of the days of Elizabeth, who has directly denied that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth in the manner described above, or who has asserted directly the story of the ordination at the Nag's Head ? I answer without hesitation that there is not. Your correspondent, T. J. B. (p. 657) talks of the necessity of “prudence during the tyrannical persecutions of Elizabeth.” Prudence, indeed ! They were beyond the reach of Elizabeth. They lived, and wrote, and published in foreign countries. They feared her not. They delighted in the use of the most bitter and irritating language. They gloried in heaping ridicule and disgrace on her clergy. Had they been as well acquainted with these matters as your correspondents are, how happy would they have been to have painted in the most ludicrous colours the farce supposed to have been enacted at the Nag's Head, and to have taunted Parker with the deceit he had practised, of pretending to the world that he had been consecrated

at Lambeth, whereas no such ceremony had ever taken place.

But have not your correspondents produced several passages from Harding, and Stapleton, and Bristowe, and Sanders, to prove that those writers denied the consecration of Parker? Such passages have, it is true, been produced in abundance; but the misfortune is that they do not apply. What these writers say of *valid* consecration, my opponents suppose to have been said of *any form of consecration*, whether valid or not. The old Catholic controversialists contended, that the Protestant ordinations were invalid and illegal: invalid, because they were performed with the insufficient form of Edward VI.: illegal, because that form had not been established by Act of Parliament, and because prelates, who had never received a valid consecration, or, having such, had been deposed, were not *lawfully* qualified for the office of consecrators. Bearing this in mind, your readers will easily explain these difficult passages, which standing insulated in the pages of your correspondents, and without the adjuncts necessary to fix their meaning, appear to be in opposition with my statement. It is true that Harding employs the words quoted by T. J. B. But why was the rest of the passage suppressed? "You have now altered a worse case yourselves than was by me before named. For your Metropolitan, who should give authority to all your consecrations, himself had no *lawful* consecration." It is plain that Harding here denied not *the fact*, but *lawfulness* of the consecration. Thus, also, I own what Sanders says, "they had not one Metropolitan who had previously been ordained by other Bishops, *metropolitanum ordinatum*:" but if, instead of this mutilated passage, the whole text had been given, the reader would see that Sanders speaks not of Parker, as not being ordained by other Bishops, but says, that no Metropolitan, ordained by other Bishops, could be had *to ordain Parker*, as was required by law; that the inauguration of the Protestant bishops, was not therefore a lawful consecration; that they were therefore no Bishops, though they had performed the office of Bishops for years, *episcopali officio*, without any consecration to make them Bishops, *sine episcopali consecratione*. The ridicule of the thing was that they could not prove themselves Bishops even according to law. (Sanders, p. 347-8.) And here let me ask how it came to pass that Sanders, with his

perridicule accidit did not chance to recollect the Nag's Head foolery? He, who in the same work did not hesitate to affirm that the Queen herself was the fruit of an unnatural amour between Henry VIII. and his own daughter? Evidently Sanders had never heard of that foolery.

In the preceding passage Sanders alludes to the controversy between Bonner, the deprived of London, and Horn, the new Bishop of Winchester, who had tendered the oath of supremacy to Bonner. By Act of Parliament a bishop was authorized to do this; but Bonner pleaded that Horn had been consecrated with a form not authorized by Act of Parliament, and by a Metropolitan who was no Bishop himself. But how did he attempt to prove that the Metropolitan was no Bishop? Let it be remembered that Bonner is supposed to have been the cause of the Nag's Head ordination: and can we believe that, if he had been really acquainted with it he would not have brought it forward? But he did neither: he admitted Parker's consecration, and argued that it was not good in law, because it had been performed according to King Edward's Ordinal, and by Bishops who had been restored after their deposition. The judges hesitated, and the question was afterwards set at rest by an Act of Parliament, to one passage of which I request the attention of your readers.

"Whereas," it states, "for the avoidying of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and *consecration* of the sayd archbishops and byshops, her hyghnesse in her letters patent for the confirming, investing, and *consecratyng* of anye parson elected to the office of anye archbishop or byshop hath not onely used suche wordes and sentences, whereby her hyghnesse of her *supreme authoritye hath dyspensed with all causes or doubtles of anye imperfection or dysabilitye* that cann or maye in anye wise be objected against the same, as by her Majestye's sayd *letters pattens remaynyng of record* more plainly will appeare, it is enacted that King Edward's order or fourme for the *consecrating* of archbishops, byshops, etc., shall stande and be in full force and effect, and that all persons that have beyn or shalbe made, ordered, and *consecrated*, archbishops, byshops, &c., after that fourme and order is in very deed, and also by authoritye hereof enacted to be archbishops, byshops, &c., and rightly made, 'ordered, and *consecrated*, anye statute, law, canon, or other

thing to the contrary notwithstanding." On this extract I will merely observe that, if Parker never received consecration according to the Ordinal of King Edward, this Act was passed in vain. In that case, neither was he a lawful bishop, nor any one consecrated by him.

I could have wished to notice a few other assertions of your three correspondents, but I have already trespassed too much upon your pages. I cannot, however, conclude without acknowledging my obligations to T. H. He has furnished me with an opportunity of stating the grounds of an opinion, which may, perhaps, have startled more than one of your readers. That opinion was the result of long and patient investigation; and I have yet to learn what reason there may be why I should doubt its truth, or regret its adoption.

Catholic Magazine, vol. v., pp. 704-715.

J. LINGARD.

LETTER No. III.

GENTLEMEN,—I send you a continuation of my remarks on the consecration of Archbishop Parker, with a request that you will insert it in your forthcoming number. It is the last communication with which you will be troubled by me on the subject.

1. Much has been said about Parker's register. Perhaps it may be proper to inform your readers that an archiepiscopal register is a collection of official documents, relative to the appointment of the Bishop, and to the government of his province or diocese, enrolled as matters of record by the proper officer of his court; and that we accordingly find in Parker's register, in the due order of time, the record of his consecration at Lambeth, in the form of a narrative, drawn up by a Notary Public, describing the whole ceremony, and containing matter sufficient to cover two or three of your pages. Now, can we believe that the author of this document, if it be a fabrication, would have ventured on a narrative so minute and prolix, when a short entry, stating the time, the place, and the ministers of the consecration, would have served his purpose? He must have been aware that the addition of every unnecessary line would multiply the facilities of detection. But this is not all. He had a more difficult task to execute than the mere forgery of a false document: he had to imitate with accuracy the very hand of the officer who had made the other entries above fifty years before; for the fraud would have been betrayed

by the least discrepancy in the form of the characters. Yet so it is ; the entry of the consecration is written in the same hand with the rest—aye, even with ink of the very same colour and consistency. On the comparison, no difference can be discovered. Is it possible to conceive internal evidence more ample than this ?

2. The entry in the register is the official copy of the original record. Perhaps, then, I ought to state, that the record is still in existence, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which it came with other private papers of Parker after his death. I am aware, that the man who has swallowed a camel, cannot be expected to strain at a gnat ; and, therefore, I shall not call on my opponents to admit the authority of this instrument. They may pronounce it another forgery, if they please ; but I trust that the impartial reader will consider it as strong collateral proof of the fact in dispute. There could be no rational motive for the fabrication of two false documents, when that in the register was alone sufficient.

3. The question has been frequently put, What is Parker's diary ? I answer, that it is a collection of entries made by him for his private use, and preserving the dates of his preferment to several livings, of his ejection from those livings in the reign of Mary, of the sermons which he preached on extraordinary occasions, of the births and baptisms of his children, etc. Is this also a forgery ? Is there anything in the simplicity of the entry respecting his consecration, or in the pathetic exclamation, "Heu, heu, Domine Deus, in quæ tempora servasti me !" that bears the appearance of fraud ? Oh ! say my opponents, the entry may have been forged after his death, to meet the objections of Catholics, or before his death by himself, to impose on the credulity of posterity. (Pp. 648, 658.) But do such extravagant fancies deserve a serious answer ? In the first supposition, he must have risen from the grave to commit the forgery, for the entry is in his own writing ; in the second, he must have formed the wild and visionary design of persuading posterity of that which both he and all his contemporaries knew to be false, and of persuading them of it by leaving behind him a paper never intended to meet the public eye ?

4. If these three contemporary writings are to be pronounced forgeries, what will be the fate of the fourth ? It lately occurred to me, that some information, with respect to the consecration

of the first Protestant Bishops, might be gleaned from the epistolary correspondence which took place between the exiles who had found an asylum in Switzerland under Queen Mary, and returned to England on the accession of her sister, and Peter Martyn and Bullinger, the reformed ministers at Zurich. I have not been disappointed. That correspondence, after the death of Bullinger, was safely deposited in the archives of the canton: and an attested copy of it was forwarded to Burnet at his request; who selected such letters as were illustrative of his subject, and published them in the Appendix of his History. From them it appears that the exiles returned with the certain expectation of being restored to their former livings, and with promises of still higher preferment. "*Adhuc nemini nostrum, ne de obolo quidem, prospectum est.*" Jewell, 28, ap. 1559. "*Ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restituti ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud, ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est alicui nostrum.*" 22nd May. But in June and July, a brighter prospect opened before them. Mitres began to glitter in their eyes, and some had already, at the command of the Queen, been elected to Bishoprics by the Chapters. "*Aliquot nostrum designamur Episcopi, Coxus Eliensis, Scoræus Erfordensis,* Allanus Roffensis, Grindalus Londinensis, Barlovus—poor man, how low he stands on the list!—Barlovus Chichestrensis, et Ego, minimus apostolorum, Sarisburiensis.*" 1st August. Here we have no mention of Parker; but, five days later, he accepted his election to the Bishopric, and his name is accordingly found in his next letter. "*Quidam ex nostris designati sunt episcopi, Parker Cantuariensis, Coxus Norwicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Scoræus Herfordensis, Grindalus Londinensis.*" This was certainly cheering: but they soon felt the sickness of hope deferred. August, September, and October, passed away. Their mitres still fled from their grasp, and the temporalities of the Bishoprics were still in possession of the Crown. "*In-genuisti cum audires nil esse prospectum cuiquam nostrum. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos episcoporum.*" 5th November. A fortnight later occur the same complaints. "*Episcopi designati tantum sunt: interim prædia pulchre augent fiscum.*" 16th November. The reader is requested to notice this date. The letter was written

* *I.e.* Herefordensis.

only two days before the death of Bishop Tunstall; and then Parker had not received consecration, or obtained his temporalities. The new Prelates were only Bishops-elect, and their temporalities were still part of the Queen's revenue. From November 16th to January 6th, 1560, we meet with no letter: and it was during that interval, that, according to the register, the first consecrations took place, of Parker on the 17th, and of Grindall, Cox, and Sands, by Parker on the 21st of December. Now this testimony of the register is fully confirmed by the letter, from Sampson to Bullinger, of the date of January 6th. "*Consecratio episcoporum aliquorum jam habita est. D. Parker Cantuariensis, D. Cox Eliensis, D. Grindal Londinensis, D. Sands Vigorniensis. Notos tibi nomino.*" Now what can be opposed to this testimony? It is a letter from a native to a foreigner, detailing the passing events of the time, and, what is more, from one, who had refused a Bishopric because he disapproved of episcopacy, writing to a friend of the same sentiments on that subject as himself. There can be no suspicion of falsehood on the part of Sampson; nor can there be of forgery on the part of any other person. For the letters remained unnoticed in the archives of Zurich, till they were called for by Burnet, and from that period, to the present day, this testimony of Sampson has escaped the observation both of Burnet and every other writer. To me, then, this letter alone appears sufficient to set the question at rest for ever.

5. If any confirmation of such testimony be wanting, it will be found in the Act of the Eighth of Elizabeth, which I copied in my last communication. Cecil and his colleagues must have been the veriest dolts on the face of the earth, if, in order to give an indisputable title to the new Bishops, they made that title rest, by Act of Parliament, on a consecration according to the Ordinal of Edward VI., which consecration, they were aware, had never taken place.

6. But your correspondents are suspicious of all Protestant testimony. Let them take then the testimony of a Catholic. Sanders, the contemporary historian, tells us that the vacant Bishoprics were distributed by Letters Patent among the reformed clergy, but, that it was required of the presentees, that they should be ordained according to law, (25 Henry VIII.,) by certain persons, and after a certain rite. "*Elizabetha ita hæc per literas patentes conferebat, ut tamen oportuerit eos, quibus*

collata erant, a certis personis ac ritu etiam certo secundum leges regni ordinari." p. 347. It is true that he speaks not of Parker by name; but, as the law included him with the rest, and, as the legality of their consecration depended on the legality of his, there can be no doubt that Sanders refers to him as well as to his inferior brethren. Hence it is, that he uses the expression quoted by your correspondents, "per ridicule accidit;" for the Queen's ministers, having established the law with respect to the consecration of Bishops, found themselves unable to execute it in such a manner as to give the new Prelates an undisputed title without an additional Act of Parliament. They had outwitted themselves.

Now, to this mass of evidence from public records and private documents, from a contemporary Act of Parliament and a contemporary Catholic historian, what do your correspondents oppose? They talk of producing unimpeachable witnesses; men who lived at the time, and who depose that Parker's consecration never took place; that this was a matter of public notoriety; and that, though the new Bishops were repeatedly challenged to the proof, not one of them was hardy enough to accept the challenge. But where, I ask, are these testimonies, these defiances, these challenges? They are nowhere. They never had existence, except in the imaginations of writers, who, having adopted the Fable of the Nag's Head consecrations, found themselves compelled to adopt other fables, in order to bolster up the first. I have travelled through the works of these pretended witnesses; through the "Confutation" and the "Detection" of Harding; the "Counterblast" and the "Promptuarium Catholicum" of Stapleton; and the "Motives" of Bristow; and the "History" of Sanders; and I affirm, without the fear of contradiction from those who have done as much, that not one of these writers has ever alluded to the supposed consecration at the Nag's Head; that not one of them has ever challenged his adversaries to the proof of that consecration. In fact, they scarcely deign to mention Parker; they make no distinction between him and his fellows; they rank him in the same state of proscription with the rest, and pronounce of the whole body, that they are not true Bishops, either by the law of the Church or by the law of the land; and, when the second half of the objection is done away by the remedial Act of the 8th of Elizabeth, they still adhere to the first, affirming that

the new Prelates are but "Parliament and no Church Bisshoppes, and noo Catholique Bisshoppes, as being ordered (ordained) in such manner and fashion as no Catholike Church ever used." (*Counterblast*.—Preface.) If I am in error, nothing can be more easy than to expose that error.* I shall not, therefore, inflict on your readers the penalty of wading through a long examination of the passages to which my opponents have appealed. It must be obvious to every one, that the use of the word "unconsecrated" is not equivalent to the denial of an invalid consecration; and that a call upon Jewell to shew his right by "vocation and succession" to the Bishopric of Salisbury, is not the same thing as a challenge to Parker to produce the record of his consecration at Lambeth. But there remain a few minor objections which I ought to notice: not that they are of any value in opposition to the testimony which I have adduced; but that by some, perhaps, they may be deemed unanswerable, if they are suffered to go unanswered. I must, therefore, solicit your indulgence for a few moments while I brush these cobwebs away.

1. It is objected that Stow and Holinshed make no mention of Parker's consecration. But why should they? They are not his biographers, but general historians. They make him Archbishop of Canterbury, and that is sufficient. Every one knew that, by law, he could not be Archbishop without consecration.

2. Stow and his copiers say that the Catholic Bishops were deprived in July—I answer that several were deprived in July. But, if he meant to confine their deprivations to that month, he was in error. The deprivations spread over the four succeeding months, as is plain from indisputable documents. This I have shown to have been the case with respect to the Bishops of Durham, Bath, and Peterborough.

3. Holinshed, according to T. J. B., "furnishes us with an indisputable fact, the obvious conclusion from which is that Parker must have passed for consecrated several weeks before December 17th." (p. 645.) The passage in Holinshed is this:

* "Manifestum est," says Tournely, "Hardingum, Stapletonum, Sanderum, aliosque Catholicos scriptores Anglos de sola dogmatis questione disputasse, non vero de questione facti, seu historia ordinationis Parkeri in hospitio, seu taberna, de qua prorsus sifuerunt"—Tournely X, 30. Venet. 1790.

"Dr. Tunstall was committed to Matthew Parker, Bishop of Canterburie, who used him very honourable but, he not long remaining under the ward of the said Bishop, did shortly after, the 18th of November, in the yeare 1559, depart this life at Lambeth. He was buried in the queer of the church at Lambeth, whose funerall sermon was doone by Alexander Nowell, then, *and now, in the yeare 1586*, Deane of Poule's." (iv. 187.) Now, 1^o This is not the testimony of Holinshed, but an interpolation made by Francis Thin, one of the continuators of Holinshed in 1586. 2^o How does Thin's interpretation prove that Parker passed for a consecrated Bishop? Was consecration necessary to constitute a gaoler? Or was there anything extraordinary in Thin giving Parker the title of Bishop, which he had been accustomed to give him for the last six-and-twenty years? But, it is said, he must have obtained his temporalities, because Tunstall died at Lambeth. Could not the Queen then have allowed the Archbishop-elect to reside at Lambeth, on account of his having no house of his own, without restoring his temporalities? The fact is, he had received neither consecration nor his temporalities two days before the death of Tunstall, as I have shewn from the letter of Jewell, of Nov. 16th; nor did he receive his temporalities till March the 21st, 1560. (Rym. xi. 573.) "Wood," continues T. J. B., "feels the difficulty, and honestly acknowledges it:" (646) that is to say, he doubts of the imprisonment of Tunstall, not of the non-consecration of Parker: but his commentator, Baker, sets him right, by observing that "the Archbishop was in possession of Lambeth long before his consecration." (Wood by Bliss, i. 306.)

4. T. J. B. has adduced another proof that Parker passed for a consecrated Bishop; because, at the obsequies of the King of France, on September 9th, he took precedence of Barlow, a consecrated Bishop. (646.) I reply that it was a Protestant ceremony, and that the three prelates were placed according to their rank in the Protestant Church. "Dr. Parker," says Holinshed, "Archbishop of Canterbury *elect*, Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Chichester *elect*, and Dr. Scorie, Bishop of Hereford *elect*, executing at the dirge with doctors' hoods about their shoulders." (iv. 186.) They were, therefore, Bishops-elect not Bishops consecrated.

"Dr. Lingard," adds your correspondent, "to be consistent

with himself, must say that Barlow is called Bishop-elect, because he had not yet been put in possession of his temporalities, and the same will apply to Parker." No, Dr. Lingard would be very inconsistent with himself were he to say any such thing. He knows that, according to law, Barlow, though formally consecrated, must remain Bishop-elect, till his election had been officially confirmed by the Metropolitan, which could not be done till that Metropolitan had been consecrated himself. As to their temporalities, I have already noticed the opinion of Parker, a pretty fair authority, that, according to the statute, he could not obtain them till after consecration: nor did he obtain them even at that time, but was compelled to wait till the commissioners, appointed by the crown, had inquired into the value of the bishopric, and had taken from it several manors, assigning, in their place, the annual income of certain rectories and vicarages.

5. T. J. B. has another argument in store, that a commission was issued to Parker, Grindal, and Cox, by the titles of Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund, Bishop of London, and Richard, Bishop of Ely, on Oct. 20th, 1559. Hence, it appears, that they were at that time consecrated Bishops. (645.) Now, it is true that there is such a commission of the date of Oct. 20th, but not of the date of 1559. It has no date of the year. By what mistake it has since intermixed among the Letters Patent of the first of Elizabeth, I know not; but it evidently belongs to the second. Such mistakes occur occasionally in Rymer.

6. Your correspondents repeatedly insist on the contemptuous notion, which several of the Reformers entertained of the rite of ordination. But that is nothing to the purpose. The law required consecration. It was their option to refuse the mitre, or to submit to the ceremony. None, unless they had been previously consecrated, could obtain the office without the rite.

Here I shall take my leave of the subject. Of the consecration of Parker I never entertained a doubt. The discussion, however, has led me to the discovery of additional proofs, and afforded me the opportunity of placing the whole argument before the eyes of your readers. It will be for them to judge.

J. LINGARD.

Catholic Magazine, vol. v. pp. 774-782.
Birmingham, 1834.

No. XVII.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONSECRATION OF
BISHOP HORNE.

1. THE CHAPTER OF WINCHESTER'S ACT, CERTIFYING TO THE QUEEN
THEIR ELECTION OF HORNE.

(*E Registro Decani et Capituli Winton: Extractum.*)

EXCELLENTISSIMÆ et Illustrissimæ in Christo Principi et Dominæ nostræ Dominæ Elizabethæ Dei Gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defens. etc. Vestri humiles et devoti subditi Decanus Ecclesiæ vestræ sanctæ Trinitatis Winton: et ejusdem Ecclesiæ Capitulum omnimodam reverentiam et obedientiam tam Illustrissimæ Principi debitas cum omni felicitatis successu. Regiæ vestræ Celsitudini tenore præsentium intimamus et significamus, quod die Mercurii videlicet quarto die mensis Decembris Literas vestras Regias *de Congé d'Eslire*, vestro magno sigillo Angliæ ac etiam literas commendatitias privato sigillo Illustrissimæ Majestatis vestræ sigillatas et consignatas, ac nobis directas in domo nostrâ Capitulari cum eâ quæ fideles decet subditos reverentiâ recepimus, ac tunc ibidem juxta dictarum vestræ Celsitudinis Literarum tenorem ad electionem futuri Episcopi et Pastoris in dictâ Ecclesiâ vestrâ Cathedrali, quæ jamdudum per legitimam deprivationem ultimi Episcopi ejusdem viduata et Pastoris solatio destituta fuit, procedendum fore decrevimus, omnesque ejusdem Ecclesiæ Canonicos et Præbendarios ac alios in eâ parte interesse habentes citanbris et vocandos ad diem decimum ejusdem mensis Decembris sua suffragia et voces daturus curavimus. Quo quidem die decimo adveniente, invocato prius Divino auxilio, et precibus Deo Optime Maximo suppliciter ante omnia per nos fusis, in domo nostrâ Capitulari congregati et plenum Capitulum facientes, ad electionem prædictam canonicè juxta leges Ecclesiasticas ac statuta hujus Regni Angliæ faciendam processimus, ac post tractatum diligentem inter nos habitum quâ viâ de futuro Episcopo providere deberemus: tandem unanimi consensu et assensu omnes et singuli nullo prorsus discrepante subito et repente quasi Spiritus Sancti gratiâ cooperante, ac Eo, ut credimus, inspirante direxi-

mus oculos nostræ intentionis, sive voces nostras in venerabilem et egregium virum Magistrum Robertum Horne Sacræ Theologiæ Professore, virum utique providum et discretum, ac penes nos, clerum et populum suis meritis exigentibus meritò commendatum, in spiritualibus et temporalibus plurimum circumspectum, scientum et valentem jura, libertates et privilegia Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton: et Episcopatus ejusdem laudabiliter defendere et tueri, in nostrum et dictæ Ecclesiæ vestræ Cathedralis Winton: Pastorem et Episcopum nominavimus et elegimus. Quam electionem sic factam Clero et populo statim in loco publico et usitato Publicandam curavimus. Cæteraque in hac parte de jure quovismodo necessaria fecimus in præsentia Tabellionum et Notariorum Publicorum ac aliorum fide dignorum, prout ex serie et tenore instrumenti publici quod super totâ dictâ electione faciendum curavimus plenius liquet et apparet. Quæ omnia et singula juxta Statuta hujus Regni vestri Angliæ edita et promulgata, habita et facta vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati significamus, humiliter supplicando quatenus hujusmodi electioni Regium vestrum consensum, atque assensum impertiri, necnon Archiepiscopo cuicumque sive aliis Episcopis pro hujusmodi Electi confirmatione cum omni favore canonicè facienda scribere dignemini. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune præsentibus apposuimus. Datum in Domo nostrâ Capitulari undecimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini 1560, et Regni vestri tertio.

A True Copy,
 FREDERICK GEORGE LEE.
 W. H. WHITLEY.
 F. R. BOND.

2. QUEEN ELIZABETH'S COMMISSION TO PARKER FOR CONSECRATING HORNE.

ELIZABETHA, Dei Gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ et Hybernæ Regina, fidei defens. etc. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et fideli (Consiliario) nostro, Domino Matthæo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, ac aliis quibuscumque Episcopis, quorum in hac parte intererit, salutem.

Cum vacante nuper Sede Episcopali Winton: per legitimam deprivationem ultimi Episcopi ejusdem ad humilem petitionem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis prædictæ, per

Literas nostras Patentes licentiam concesserimus alium sibi eligendi in Episcopum et Pastorem Sedis prædictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo Robertum Horne, S.T.P. sibi et Ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerunt in Episcopum et Pastorem, prout per Literas suas sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas, plenius liquet et apparet.

Nos electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni Regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus; rogantes ac in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus vos eundem Robertum Horne in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton: prædictæ sic, ut præfertur, electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem Robertum Horne in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio Pastoralis, juxta formam Statutorum, in eâ parte editorum et provisorum velitis cum effectu. In cujus rei testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste me ipsâ apud Westmon: duodecimo die mensis Februarii, anno Regni nostri tertio.

A True Copy,

F. G. LEE,

W. H. WHITLEY,

F. R. BOND.

3. THE ACT OF HORNE'S CONSECRATION TAKEN FROM THE SAME REGISTER.*

DIE Dominico videlicet decimo sexto die mensis Februarii, anno Domini juxta cursum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1560. In Capellâ Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Matthæi permissione Divinâ Cantuar: Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitanis, infra Manerium suum de Lambeth, dictus Reverendissimus Pater vigore et autoritate Litterarum commissionarium Patentium Illustrissimæ in Christo Principis et Domine nostræ Domine Elizabethæ, etc. sibi in hac parte factarum et directarum, assistantibus sibi Reverendis Patribus Dominis Thomâ Young, Menevensi Episcopo, electo Eboracensi, necnon Dominis Edmundo London: et Thomâ Coven: et Lich: respectivè Episcopis, munus Consecrationis venerabili viro Magistro Roberto Horne, S. Theologiæ Professore, in Epis-

* This document also stands on folio 88 of Parker's Register.

copum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton. electo, impendebat; adhibitis ceremoniis de more Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ usitatis: præsentibus tunc et ibidem unà mecum Johanne Incent Notario Publico Registrario Principali dicti Reverendissimi Patris, Magistris Thomâ Yale Legum Doctore, Edwardo Leeds, in Legibus Licentiato, Andrea Pierson et Ricardo Beseley S. Theologiæ Baccalaureis, et aliis testibus, etc.

A True Copy.

F. G. LEE,

W. H. WHITLEY,

F. R. BOND.

4. A CERTIFICATE OF HORNE'S CONSECRATION, SENT BY PARKER TO
THE ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY.

(*E Registro Domini Episcopi Winton: Extractum*).

MATTHÆUS, permissione Divinâ, Cantuar: Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, Venerabile Confratri nostro Domino Edmundo eâdem permissione Divinâ Roffen: Episcopo, Commendatario Archidiaconatûs Cantuar: Salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Cum vacante nuper Sede Episcopali Winton: Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis Winton: prædictæ (licentiâ Regis primitus in eâ parte petitâ et obtentâ) Venerabilem Confratrem nostrum Dominum Robertum Horne Sacræ Theologiæ Professore in eorum, et dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Episcopum et Pastorem elegerunt, et Ecclesiæ Cathedrali prædictæ providerunt de eodem. Quam quidem electionem et personam sic electam, servatis de jure et statutis hujus Regni Angliæ in hac parte servandis, Nos Matthæus Archiepiscopus Cantuar: antedictus autoritate Litterarum Commissionarium Patentium Illustrissimæ Christo Principis et Dominæ nostræ Dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defens. etc. nobis in hac parte directarum ritè et legitimè mandavimus et fecimus confirmari, eidemque confirmato curam, regimem et administrationem dicti Episcopatus Winton: commissimus, nec non consequenter munus Consecrationis eidem adhibitis de ritu et more Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ suffragiis et insigniis adhibendis impendimus, juxta statuta hujus inclyti Regni Angliæ in hac parte piè et sanctè edita et sanctila, ipsumque Confratrem nostrum sic confirmatum et consecratum in realem,

actualem et corporalem possessionem dicti Episcopatus, jurium que et pertinentium suorum universorum, inducendum, investendum, et intronizandum fore decrevimus, et mandavimus. Tibi igitur firmiter præcipiendo rogamus quatenus præfatum Venerabilem Confratrem nostrum seu Procuratorem suum legitimum, ejus nomine, in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem dicti Episcopatus Winton: juriumque et honorum, dignitatum et pertinentium suorum universorum inducas, installes et intronizes, seu sic induci, installari et intronizari facias cum effectu, Cathedram Episcopalem in eadem Ecclesiâ ei uti moris est, assignes, et eum in Nomine Domini nostri imponas, juribus et consuetudinibus nostris Archiepiscopalibus et Ecclesiæ nostræ Metropolitice Christi Cantuar: necnon Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sanctæ et individue Trinitatis Winton: prædictæ Dignitatibus et Honoribus in omnibus semper salvis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum in Manerio nostro de Lambeth, decimo septimo die mensis Februarii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, et nostræ Consecrationis anno secundo.

A True Copy,
F. G. LEE,
W. H. WHITLEY,
F. R. BOND.

5. THE ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY'S COMMISSION FOR INSTALLING HORNE.

(*E Registro Domini Episcopi Winton: Extractum.*)

EDMUNDUS, permissione Divinâ Roffensis Episcopus, Commendatarius Archidiaconus Cantuar: ad quem inductio, installatio, et inthronizatio omnium et singulorum Episcoporum Cantuar: Provinciæ de laudabili, longævæque et legitimè præscriptâ consuetudine notoriè dignoscuntur pertinere; venerabilibus viris Magistris Johanni Warner Decano Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sanctæ Trinitatis Winton: Willelmo Atkins Art. Mag. et Rob. Watton. Minori. Canonico Ecclesiæ Cathedr. prædictæ salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quoniam ex parte Venerabilis Confratris nostri Domini Roberti Horne Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris, in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sanctæ Trinitatis Winton: ritè et legitimè electi, confirmati et consecrati, fuimus debitâ cum instantiâ requisiti, quatenus eundem

Venerabilem Confratrem nostrum in realem actualem et corporalem possessionem dicti Episcopatus Winton: juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum juxta morem et consuetudinem ipsius Ecclesiæ hactenus in hac parte usitat. et observat. induceremus, installaremus et inthronizaremus. Nos vero autefati Confratris nostri requisitioni et voto annuere volentes vobis (eo quod nos in præsentiarum quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis adeo sumus impliciti et remorati, quod executioni officii nostri hujusmodi vacare non valemus, uti optamus,) et vestrum cuilibet de quorum circumspectione et industria specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, ad inducendum prælibatum Reverendum Patrem seu Procuratorem suum legitimum ejus nomine in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem antidictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum, eundemque Confratrem nostrum seu Procuratorem suum legitimum hujusmodi cum plenitudine juris Episcopalis installandum, inthronizandum, cæteraque omnia facienda, exercenda, et expedienda quæ in hac parte necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet requisita conjunctim et divisim vices nostras committimus, et plenam tenore præsentium concedimus protestatem. Rogantes uti totum id quod in præmissis feceritis aut aliquis vestrum fecerit, dicto inductionis negotio expedito nobis pro loco et tempore opportunis debite certificare velitis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Reverendissimi Domini Matthæi Archiepiscopi, eo quod nostrum ad manus inpræsentiarum non habemus, præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum decimo nono die mensis Februarii, anno Domini juxta computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, et nostræ Consecrationis anno primo.

A True Copy,

F. G. LEE.

W. H. WHITLEY, -

F. R. BOND.

6. A COMMISSION GIVEN BY HORNE FOR BEING INSTALLED BY HIS ATTORNEY.

(*E Registro Domini Episcopi Winton: Extractum.*)

UNIVERSIS et singulis has procurationis Litteras inspecturis visuris, audituris, et lecturis innotescat et palam significetur, quod Nos, Robertus permissione Divinâ Winton: Episc. electus,

confirmatus et consecratus dilectos nobis in Christo Willelmum Overton et Michaellem Renniger Artium Magistros Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton : prædictæ Canonicos conjunctim et divisim veros, certos et legitimos ac indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores, negotiorumque nostrorum gestores et nuntios speciales ad infra scripta nominamus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentem, damus et concedimus eisdem procuratoribus nostris conjunctim, et eorum cuilibet ut præfertur per se divisim, et in solidum potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale pro nobis, ac vice, loco et nomine nostris coram dilectis nobis in Christo Decani et Capitulo Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Winton : eorumve in hac parte vicegerentibus aut aliis quibuscunque comparendi, nosque à personali comparitione excusandi, justasque causas absentiae nostræ hujusmodi allegandi et proponendi, ac de veritate earumdem fidem de jure requisitam faciendi, ac nos et personam nostram in realem, actualement et corporalem possessionem, installationem et inthronizationem dicti Episcopatus nostri Winton : vice et nomine nostris nanciscendi et adipiscendi, ac illas sic nactas et adeptas ad usum ac commodum nostrum custodiendi et conservandi, ac per legitima juris remedia tuendi et defendendi; quodcumque insuper juramentum licitum et honestum ac de jure consuetudinibus et statutis dictæ Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Winton : in hac parte quomodolibet acquisitum (quatenus consuetudines, ordinationes et statuta hujusmodi juri divino ac legibus et statutis hujus Regni Angliæ non sunt contraria vel repugnantia) in animam nostram et pro nobis præstandi, subeundi et jurandi, necnon juramentum obedientiæ et quodcumque aliud Sacramentum licitum et honestum modo præmisso qualificatum à Decano et Capitulo, Canonicisque et cæteris Ministris ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo ibidem exhiberi et præstari solitum et consuetum ab eisdem et eorum quolibet pro nobis ac vice et nominibus nostris recipiendi et admittendi, et generaliter omnia et singula alia faciendi, exercendi et expediendi quæ in præmissis et certa ea necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet opportuna, etiamsi mandatum de se magis exigant speciale quam superius est expressum, promittimusque nos ratum, gratum, et firmum perpetuo habituros totum et quidquid dicti Procuratores nostri seu eorum alter fecerint, vel fecerit in præmissio, vel eorum aliquo sub hypothecâ et obligatione omnium et singulorum bonorum nostrorum tam præsentium quam futurorum, et in ea

parte cautionem exponimus per præsentes. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Venerabilis viri Archidiaconi Cicestrensis (es quod nostram ad manus impræsentiarum non habemus) præsentibus apponi fecimus et procuravimus. Et nos Archidiaconus antedictus ad speciale rogatum dicti Reverendi Patris Domini Roberti Winton : Episcopi constituentis hujusmodi, sigillum nostrum hujusmodi præsentibus apposuimus. Datum decimo nono die mensis Februarii, anno Domini juxta computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo.

A True Copy,
F. G. LEE,
W. H. WHITLEY,
F. R. BOND.*

* The above copies were transcribed originally by the late Mr. Charles Barton, of Winchester, and compared and authenticated by Mr. Thomas Hammond, Notary Public. The original documents with which they have been again compared, are in excellent preservation. The spelling and contractions, however, have not in all cases been literally followed.

No. XVIII.

POPE INNOCENT XII. AND THE NONJURING
CONSECRATIONS.

WE are enabled to place before our readers a document of no small interest, the more so because within the last ten years the manuscripts of the Right Reverend Dr. Hickes, consecrated by the Nonjurors as suffragan bishop of Thetford, have been destroyed. Only four copies of the work from whence it is taken are said to have been printed, although the handsome appearance of the work printed in folio, and the accurate copperplate of the Episcopal seals and autographs, shew that no expense was spared in its preparation. The preliminary narrative, which is appended in full, is signed by Dr. Hickes himself, and after that there are printed—

1. A delegation or deputation, to act for him in all things ecclesiastical (“Ubi, inquam, ad hæc omnia tractanda, pensitanda et finaliter expedienda, hoc quicquid est *muneris mei et pontificii*, fretus prudentiâ tuâ et solitâ in rebus agendis solertiâ, committo Domino, teque *vicarium meum* ad præmissâ rerumque mearum et negotiorum, actorem, factorem, et *nuntium meum* generalem vique harum literarum eligo, facio, et constituo”) granted by the ejected William (Sancroft) Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in favour of William (Lloyd) Lord Bishop of Norwich. It is dated 9th February, 1691, sealed with the Archiepiscopal seal, and subscribed “W. Cant:” “in præsentia meî Wmi. Sancroft, Junioris, Notarii publici.”

2. Apographum consecrationis R. A. Viri Georgii Hickes S. T. P. in episcopum suffraganeum sive pastorem ecclesiarum de Thetford: nominati et electi vigiliis S^{ti} Matthæi Apostoli, viz., 28^o de mense Februarii anno 1693, annoque regni illustrissimi principis et Dni. Jacobi II. D.G. Angl. Scot. Fran. et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris decimo, in capella sive Oratorio Reverendi in Xto. patris et Dni. Dni. Thomæ, permissione Divinâ Petreburgensis Episcopi, et parochia de Enfield. * * Com-

paravit personaliter illustrissimus Dns. Henricus Comes de Clarendon, et tunc et ibidem præsentavit prædictis reverendis patribus commissariis litteras commissionales regias * * observatis insuper et adhibitis ritibus, circumstantiis et cæremoniis de usu moderno Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et juxta modum et formam descriptam in libro intitulo, "The Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating, etc." Hereafter are the signatures and episcopal seals of Wm. Bp. of Norwich, Francis Bp. of Ely, and Thomas Bp. of Peterborough.

3. Apographum Consecrationis, etc. R. A. V. Thomæ Wagstaff, on the 3rd of February, 1693, as in the document just given.

4. Apographum Consecrationis, etc. R. A. V. Jeremiæ Collier A. M. 1713. "In Nomine Dni. Amen. Nos Georgius Hickes, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Episcopus Catholicus et suffraganeus Thetfordensis, Archibaldus Campbell, et Jacobus Gadderar, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Episcopi Catholici, (in timore Dni. pendentes) Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ omnes Episcopos Catholicos excepto prædicto Georgio Hickes in Domino obdormuisse—tum officii quoque nobis a Domino mandati tum fragilitatis humanæ memores, atque saluti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, illam sanctam Catholicam illibatam Episcoporum fidelium successionem in recta lineâ perpetuando consulere volentes."—Signed and Sealed by Geo. Hickes, Archibald Campbell, and James Gadderar, on the 3rd of June 1713.

5. The same in favour of Samuel Hawes.

6. The same in favour of Nathanael Spinkes.

7. Apographum Consecrationis Henrici Doughty at Edinburgh, on the 30th of March, 1728. "Nos Joannes Fullertone, miseratione Divinâ Epus. Edinburgensis, Arthurus Millar, nuper pastor Inveraskensis, Episcopus consecratus, et in numerum Episcoporum Scotorum adscitus, 22^o mens. Oct., anno ab incarnato Domino, et Servatore nostro 1718, Gulielmus Irvine nuper pastor apud Kirkmichael Episcopus consecratus et in numerum Episcoporum Scotorum adscitus, et David Freebairn, nuper pastor apud Doning, Episcopus consecratus et in numerum Episcoporum Scotorum adscitus * * * in honore Domini ponderantes, pleros quæ fratrum nostrorum charissimorum, et in collegio Episcopali apud Britannos collegarum (hoc nuper elapso et ecclesiæ nostræ luctuoso curriculo) in Domino obdormuisse eos quæ perpaucos qui Divinâ misericordiâ superstites

sunt, multiplicibus curis morbis atque ingravescente senio tantum non confectos esse." Sealed by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and signed "Jo. Edinburgen., Arth. Millar Episcopus, Gul. Irvine Episcopus, David Freebairn Episcopus."

8. Were Mr. Doughty's letters of priest's orders granted by Bishop of Norwich in . . .

9. That of John Amy.

10. Apographum Consecrationis Henrici Gandy (Ob. 26 Feb^y. 1733). "In Nomine Domini Amen. Nos Jeremias Collier, Samuel Hawes, et Nathanael Spinkes, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Episcopi Catholici, in honore Domini congregati, tam officii nobis a Domino mandati quam fragilitatis humanæ memores, atque salutis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, illam sanctam Catholicam, illibatam Episcoporum fidelium successionem in rectâ lineâ consulere volentes." Dated June 6, 1716.

11. A similar one in favour of Radulphus Tayler by Bishops Hawes, Spinkes, and Gandy, April 6, 1721.

12. A similar one by the same Bishops, in favour of Hilkiah Bedford, March 22nd, 1720.

13. The same, by Bishops Spinkes, Gandy, and Doughty, in favour of Henry Hall, on the 17th of June, 1728. Bp. Hall died 15th Nov., 1731.

It will be observed from these notices, that the Nonjuring Bishops, attaching the utmost importance to valid consecration, took pains that the most scrupulous care should be taken not only to preserve the Record of such consecrations, but that some of the principles on which they acted should be embodied in the documents that authenticated them. First, Archbishop Sancroft speaks of his "munus pontificium," creating Bishop Lloyd his "Vicarius et nuntius." Then the Bishops again and again assert that they are "Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Episcopi Catholici"—or they rest on their orders, each styling himself "Episcopus consecratus et in numerum Scotorum Episcoporum adscitus"—or they state their motive for action, "sanctam Catholicam illibatam Episcoporum successionem in rectâ lineâ perpetuare." In short, every guarantee is given that nothing which from their principles was necessary to a valid and canonical consecration should be wanting in a matter which, with them, was a question "*stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ.*"

But the most important part of the paper is the Introduction. We have here on the high authority of the excellent Bishop

Hickes, that James II., after assenting to the continuation of the Nonjuring Episcopal Succession was probably influenced in the opposite direction "by such as desired nothing more than to see it interrupted;" that at length he agreed, and requested that some one should be sent to confer with him on the matter; that in the conference it came out that the cause of the delay was that the King said, "that before he proceeded further in the matter, he thought himself obliged fully to satisfy his own conscience in the matter, as to the lawfulness of his part of it, which, said he, I did first by consulting of those I thought the best casuists of the place where I am, viz., the Archbishop of Paris (Harlay?) and the Bishop of Meaux (Bossuet), and then by laying the case before the Pope." Both the Bishops consulted and the Pope agreed that "the Church of England being established by the laws of the kingdom, he was under no obligation of conscience to act against it, but obliged to maintain and defend it so long as those laws were in force."

Now let it be observed how much is implied by this decision of those consulted. Bossuet's opinion on the Validity of Anglican Orders is well known—that if the succession was not broken in Cromwell's time, they are valid. We may presume that the Archbishop of Paris took the same line, but the most important point is that of the Pope. Knowing that one word from him would have stopped the consent of that scrupulous king, can we suppose that Innocent XII. (Antonio Pignatelli, the Pontiff who brought the disputes with Louis XIV., concerning the Four Articles, to an issue satisfactory to the Roman court), would consign millions of unborn babes to the curse of invalid sacraments? Innocent XII. must either have held that the Anglican Sacraments were of such a kind, that, where received in good faith, they sanctified the recipients; or, in the pursuit of a worldly policy, he was guilty of one of the most awful sins a Pope ever committed—that is, he was the agent in perpetuating a sham priesthood, exercising a sham jurisdiction, and administering sham sacraments:—

"RECORDS OF THE NEW CONSECRATIONS.

"After the deprivation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his brethren on the 1st of February, 1689, they began to think of continuing their succession by new Consecrations, and often

discoursed of it, but without taking any particular resolutions till after the Consecrations of the intruders into their Sees, which happened on Whitsunday, 31st May, 1691. Then the deprived Archbishop, and bishops in and about London, resolved to continue their succession, and in order thereto to write to the King about it. In their discourses on this matter the Bishop of Ely acquainted the Archbishop and his brethren that there were some letters in the library of St. John's College, in Cambridge, which had passed between Sir Edward Hide, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor, and Dr. Barwick, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, not long before the Restoration, concerning the continuation of the succession of the Bishops of the Church of England, then reduced to about seven. This obliged them to write to Mr. B——r, fellow of St. John's College, to desire him to send up those letters, which accordingly were sent. It brought them also to a resolution to impart the secret to my Lord Clarendon, who had been his father's secretary in the correspondence with Dr. Barwick. It appeared from those letters, which were but part of what passed on that occasion, or from the information of my Lord Clarendon, or from both, that difficulties arose at that time about the manner of continuing the succession of bishops, because these either wanted deans and chapters to whom the *Congé d'Eslire* with a letter missive should be sent, or because the deans and prebendaries of any Church, then surviving in a sufficient number, could not legally hold chapters out of the liberties of their respective Churches. On this account it was thought the best way, because the only way practicable, to ordain suffragan bishops according to the statute of Henry VIII. But soon after this resolution was taken, the King was called home by an unforeseen Providence, which prevented the execution.

“ Upon this information the Archbishops and bishops resolved upon the same method for the continuation of their succession ; because though there were legal deans and chapters in most churches, yet they were not such to whom his Majesty could direct his *Congés d'Eslire*, or who would have received them. On this resolution the deprived Archbishop and bishops determined to write to the King to desire his Majesty's consent in the way directed by the statute for consecrating new bishops. My Lord Clarendon was accordingly desired to write to my Lord Melfort, the King's Secretary, about this affair, which he

did, and soon received from him his Majesty's most gracious answer to this purpose, that he was well pleased with the design, and would readily concur with it. After the receipt of this letter my Lord Clarendon wrote him a second letter by the direction of the Archbishop and Bishops, in pursuance to the same design, according to the statute aforesaid. But to this no answer was returned for a long time. This gave occasion to suspect that his Majesty had been dissuaded from consenting to the continuation of the succession of our Bishops, by such as desired nothing more than to see it interrupted, which made the good Fathers resolve rather to do their important work without his Majesty's consent than not at all. However they determined to renew their application to the King, but whether before they had sent a third letter or after it, I cannot well remember, they received a letter from my Lord Melfort signifying his Majesty's great desire to have the new consecrations finished, and requiring them in order thereto to send some person over with whom his Majesty might confer about this matter, and to send a list of the deprived clergy by him. The person of whom they made choice (Dr. Hikes) set out from London, May 19th, 1698, and went by the way of Holland; which by reason of many difficulties and disappointments made it six weeks ere he arrived at St. Germain's. He came thither at ten at night as his Majesty was concluding his supper, after which he kissed his hand, and having received his Majesty's directions whom only he should see there, he was conducted to a lodging prepared for him. Next night at the same hour he was sent for to the King, who, in the first place, was pleased to make this apology for having so long delayed his answer to my Lord Clarendon's second letter above mentioned, viz., that before he proceeded farther in that matter he thought himself obliged to satisfy his own conscience, as to the lawfulness of his part in it, which, said he, I did, first, by consulting of those I thought the best casuists of the place where I am, viz., the Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Meaux, and thereby laying the case before the Pope. The resolution, says he, of the two Bishops I have here, and they both agree in this determination, though consulted separately, that the Church of England, being established by the laws of the kingdom, I am under no obligation of conscience to act against it, but obliged to maintain and defend it so long as those laws are in force. And then his Majesty

put the papers containing the said case, and those Bishops, resolution of it, into the Doctor's hands, desiring him to read them, which he did, and found them as his Majesty had represented. His Majesty said he had not yet received the Pope's answer, but did not doubt he should before the Doctor returned, which accordingly happened; and the Doctor saw it before he departed, and it was to the same effect as that of the two Bishops. The King shewed these their determinations to my Lord Fanshaw about two years after, who went over about some business, and after his return assured the Doctor that he had both seen and read them. After the Doctor had that night read the two said papers, the King proceeded to tell him that his Majesty 'had on all occasions justified the Church of England since the Revolution, declaring that the true Church of England remained in that part of the clergy and the people which adhered to her doctrines and suffered for them; and that, sir,' said he, 'is the Church of England which I will maintain and defend, and the succession of whose bishops I desire may be continued, and when it shall please God to restore me or mine we may meet with such a Church of England and such bishops; and I desire for that end that the new consecrations may be made as soon as conveniently they can after your return.' At that and other audiences his Majesty expressed his esteem of the deprived bishops and clergy, and of the laity that suffered with them, in the most tender and affectionate manner, even with tears in his eyes; and also declared that he was very sensible that the great part of the complaining clergy still loved him, and had fallen only through infirmity, and very few through disaffection and malice towards him.

"The Doctor had his *Congé* of his Majesty the latter end of July, and arrived at Rotterdam on the 7th of August, where he waited all that month and the next, to return in a fleet of merchants under the convoy of the same men-of-war that conveyed the yacht in which the Prince of Orange returned; but when he should have gone on board he was seized with an ague and fever, which detained him near four months longer, viz., till January the 24th, on which day he went from Rotterdam; and going on board the packet boat on the 26th, arrived at Harwich on the 29th, where he escaped being examined by one Mackay, a Scotchman, placed there to examine passengers, by sitting next to a foreign minister in the boat which brought the

passengers on shore. After three days' stay at Harwich he came to London on the 4th February, and on the Feast of St. Matthias, the 24th of the said month, the consecrations were solemnly performed according to the rites of the Church of England by Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely; Dr. Thomas Whyte, Bishop of Peterborough, at the Bishop of Peterborough's lodging at the Rev. Mr. William Giffard's house, at Southgate in Middlesex; Dr. Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, giving his consent. Here it is to be noted that Dr. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, absolutely refused all correspondence with his brethren, from which he desired to be excused, alleging that he had retired from all business but what related to his own soul in preparing himself for death; and that Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, died while the Doctor lay ill at Rotterdam; but he joined in everything relating thereto while he lived, and particularly recommended to the King one of the two persons to be consecrated, as the Bishop of Norwich did the other. All the time of his Grace's retirement in Suffolk he corresponded with the Bishop of Norwich, notwithstanding that he had given him a deputation in due form, and in the Latin tongue, empowering him to act in all cases relating to Church affairs in his stead, which yet the Bishops seldom made use of without first acquainting him with it, and receiving his Grace's directions thereupon.

“GEORGE HICKES.”

XIX.

THE CASE OF BISHOP GORDON, OF GALLOWAY.

Comments on the Case of Bishop Gordon.—By REV. T.
ELRLINGTON, D.D.

“THE first request made by *Gordon* is, that the Pope should declare *hujusmodi ordinationem* (that conferred in the Episcopal Church of Scotland), *esse illegitimam et nullam*. This proves beyond the possibility of doubt* that no determination had previously been made upon the question of Re-ordination, and establishes this petition and the investigation which it gave rise to, as the sole ground upon which the resolution, declaring our ordination to be invalid, was made, thus supplying us with the means of judging whether that determination was well or ill founded.

“The next sentence contains a statement notoriously false, asserting that the greater part of the English Protestants themselves deemed our orders to be invalid. *Anglicanorum Heterodoxorum ordinationes arbitrator orator, cum plurimâ Catholicorum, imo et heterodoxorum, parte, nullo modo validas dici posse*. To say that a large proportion of Protestants deemed our orders invalid, must have had great weight with the Pope, who unquestionably was led to consider that opinion to be a decisive proof that the *Nag's Head* story was believed among ourselves. There is no man acquainted with the Presbyterian controversy who does not know this assertion to be totally destitute of foundation; who does not know that no Presbyterian writer ever defended the *Nag's Head* story, or made any objection to our orders except their being *too Popish*.

“It should not escape observation that this sentence admits the denial of our orders not to have been universal among Roman Catholics; this the words *cum plurimâ catholicorum parte*, plainly prove.

* Dr. Elrlington was evidently unacquainted with the Case of Dr. Stephen Gough.

“The petition next states that our ordinations must be invalid, unless we have preserved the essential *matter, form, and intention*. This is perfectly correct; but when *Gordon* comes to explain what he allows to be the *matter* used at our consecration, he chooses to forget the *Imposition of Hands*, the only essential matter of ordination, and asserts that we use no *matter* except perhaps the delivery of the Bible. Here is a false statement of a fact so important, that if the Pope believed it he could not but have decided against our orders; and it appears by the conclusion of the account given by *Le Quien*, that he did believe it, and every other fact stated by *Gordon*, for the decision was made without any other evidence having been gone into, except the mere reading his petition.

“*Gordon* next asserts that the only form used was, *Accipe potestatem prædictandi verbum Dei, et administrandi Sancta ejus Sacramenta, etc.* He had omitted to state the *Imposition of Hands*, and he here omits the words used with that solemn action, which constitute a most important part of the form of ordination.

“His statement as to the *form* being admitted, the determination of the Pope must have been against our orders; but that statement we know was false, and so did *Gordon* also know when he made it.

“He then notices the defect of *Intention*, arising from our denial of the Sacrifice of the Mass; and here indeed his fact is true, but the reasoning from it we have already seen, on the authority of *Bellarmino* and of the *Synod of Evreux*, to be totally erroneous; the intention to ordain to the office for which Christ had ordained, even though unaccompanied with an explicit, nay, an heretical error as to the nature of that office, being sufficient.

“I have followed this subject of the *matter, form, and intention*, through the whole of the petition, that I might not separate the parts of so important a discussion. I now return to where it was first mentioned, and there I find it noticed that we can have no ordination but what was derived to us through Roman Catholic bishops; but to this truth is subjoined a statement, contrived with such Jesuitical art, that though the assertion taken literally is not false, yet it inevitably excites an idea which is decidedly false. *Kitchin*, of *Llandaff*, is named by *Gordon*, as the only Roman Catholic Bishop who came over

to the Protestants in the beginning of *Elizabeth's* reign; and then he proceeds with his story, tacitly assuming that he was the only bishop from whom *Parker, &c.* could have obtained consecration, and relating his refusal; and then, giving the story of the application to the Irish archbishop in the Tower, he describes the *Nag's Head* consecration as the resource to which of necessity they were driven.

"It being believed that there was no bishop who could consecrate except *Kitchin*, his refusal necessarily proved that there had been no real consecration; and we see clearly that *Gordon's* assertion, true, indeed, if we understand it of Bishops in possession of their sees, but untrue if we take it to include all English Bishops actually consecrated, was never examined into, but admitted in that sense in which it led to the determination he wished for. It is unnecessary to detain the reader by repeating what has been already said as to the number of Protestant Bishops who had been rescued by Providence from the persecution of *Mary*, to continue the hierarchy of the Church of England—as unnecessary is it to refute the story of the Irish Archbishop.

"As to *Scorye*, *Gordon* makes no ceremony with him, but says boldly that he was *Apostatam Religiosum*, HAUD EPISCOPUM, the falsehood of which assertion a little inquiry would have disclosed; but the Pope made no inquiry.

"For the *Nag's Head* story *Gordon* gives *Haberley* as his authority, on the faith of *Neal* (misprinted *Keal*); but he chooses to give *Neal* credit with the Pope, by stating him to have been an exile on account of his religion, of which *exile* nobody but *Gordon* ever heard. Indeed, the account of *Neal*, as given by *Wood* in his "*Antiquities of Oxford*," is consistent with his never having been the author of the *Nag's Head* story, either at home or abroad; for he was appointed Hebrew lecturer in 1558, or 1559, by *Elizabeth*, and held the office for many years; he took a distinguished part in the reception of *Elizabeth* at Oxford in 1566, and was particularly noticed by her; and in 1590 he erected a monument for himself in Cassington Church, near which he lived after retiring from Oxford, continuing to go sometimes to church, though not entirely a Protestant; and there is reason to believe that he died in the course of the year in which this monument was erected. We have here no interval of time in which *Neal* could have been an exile, nor

any sufficient cause for his leaving England ; and his reception in 1566 by *Elizabeth* is utterly inconsistent with his having been employed to prevent the consecration of *Parker*.

“ *Gordon* relates the form used in the *Nay's Head* consecration from the account given by *Fitzsimon* ; and that nothing might be wanting to the story, he confidently asserts *Parker* to have been a layman, though he must have known that he had been ordained a Priest in 1527, according to the Romish Ritual.

“ This circumstance alone is sufficient to show how little regard was paid to truth, even in a solemn application to the Pope ; and that, too, of such a nature, that to deceive was to incur the guilt of sacrilege, for such the crime of reiterating orders already given is deemed to be by those who esteem orders to be a Sacrament.

“ *Gordon* proceeds to state that in 1613 there came out a book by *Francis Mason*, in which he pretends to have found a record of our Bishops having been ordained by Catholics, but that this story was rejected by all, as he adduced no proof of his assertion.

“ Now we know that *Mason* never made the assertion imputed to him, for the Bishops he names as consecrators of *Parker* were Protestants ; and we also know that he did adduce proof of his narrative, for he stated where the record which he referred to was to be found ; and *Gordon* knew that it had been examined by his own party, and no mark of forgery discovered in it.

“ The Memorial concluded by stating that it had always been the practice in England to re-ordain any of our Clergy who became converts to the Church of Rome. How little truth there was in this statement we have seen already in examining the Bull of Pope *Julius*, and the proceedings in the beginning of the reign of *Mary*.

“ Upon no other evidence whatsoever, except this memorial, Pope *Clement XI.* and his consistory ordered *Gordon* to be ordained, thus pronouncing the orders he had received to be invalid.

“ Had we known only the decision, without any information as to the grounds upon which it was made, it would hardly be considered justifiable by Roman Catholics to set up their own opinion against that of the Pope and Cardinals ; but as infalli-

bility does not extend to matter of fact, they will, I hope, think it not unwarrantable to question a decree founded upon such statements as those contained in *Gordon's* petition."

A.D. 1818.

2. *The Case of John Gordon, some time Bishop of Galloway.*—

BY THE REV. PATRICK CHEYNE, M.A.

MANY eminent members of the Roman communion have maintained the validity of Anglican ordination, on the ground that the chain of succession has not been broken by the unhappy separation in the sixteenth century; and that there never has been a decision of the Roman Church to the contrary solemnly and formally pronounced. In a recent number of the *Weekly Register*, an attempt has been made to cut away this latter ground from under our feet, and thus destroy the last hope of Re-union with Western Christendom.

The *Register* maintains that the question *has* been decided; and in proof of it, produces a decree of the Holy Roman Inquisition (dated April 17th, 1704), pronounced by Pope Clement XI. commanding John Clement Gordon, formerly Bishop of Galloway, in Scotland, to be promoted anew to all the Sacred Orders, having first received the Sacrament of Confirmation. What may be the precise value, even in the Roman communion itself, of a decree of the Inquisition, pronounced by the Pope in person, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Roman courts to say; but certainly it cannot have the force of a solemn canonical decision of an ecclesiastical question. It cannot be of more value than the facts and reasons on which it is founded; and if these are false and groundless, even the personal infallibility of the Popes could not elicit from them a true judgment. The decree passed on the petition of Gordon himself, without (so far as appears) any examination of evidence or investigation into the truth of the allegations contained in it. And, even then, it is only by implications that the decree declares the nullity of the Anglican orders. It abstains from pronouncing directly on the general question. It says merely, "The above cited memorial being read, our Most Holy Lord, the Pope, decreed that the aforesaid John Clement Gordon, be promoted."

The story is this. On the 4th of February, 1688, John Gordon was consecrated to the See of Galloway in the Cathed-

dral of Glasgow. At the Revolution he followed the fortunes of the exiled monarch, and resided for a time at the Court of St. Germain's, "where he read the Liturgy of the Church of England in his lodgings, to such Protestants as resorted to him." (Keith's "Catalogue of Scotch Bishops.") When or where he was reconciled to the Roman Church does not appear. On the 17th April, 1704, he presented a petition to Clement XI., through the congregation of the Holy Office, praying that his Holiness would vouchsafe to declare that the ordination he had received among the heretics was null and void, and to dispense with him, that he may be able to receive Holy Orders by the R. Catholic Rite; and he adds reasons why, in the opinion of most Catholics, and even of the heterodox, the Anglican ordination cannot be accounted valid.

1. In order to the validity of Holy Orders, the Bishops must have received, by succession, lawful ordination and consecration from the Catholic Church. 2. The essential form, matter, and intention must have been applied. But the Anglican ordinations are defective in both respects. For 1st, they have no succession; inasmuch as at the abjuration of the true faith in England, no Bishop went over to the side of the heretics except one, Anthony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, a weak man, who being commissioned by Queen Elizabeth to ordain the new bishops, feigned himself blind in order to escape the odious task. There was also in the Tower of London an Irish Archbishop, whom the heretics tried to bribe with promises of liberty and reward to ordain their ministers; but the good man would by no means be induced to lay hands upon the heretics. In this dilemma they assembled by concert, on a certain day in 1559, at the *Nag's Head Tavern*, in Cheapside; and there, amid the tumult of the assembly, they chose John Scory, an apostate monk, not a Bishop, to perform a mock ordination. He had read that laying of hands in the Church was anciently nothing but *joining* hands in token of friendship: whereupon he ordered the bystanders to kneel down, and taking one Parker, a layman, by the right hand, he said, "Rise up, my Lord Bishop of Canterbury;" and in like manner he ordained some others who were present.

But 2ndly, the ex-bishop states that, though they had a true succession, still the Anglican orders would be invalid, because they are conferred without proper matter, power, and due

instruction. The heretics use no matter, except perhaps the delivery of Bibles—no lawful form—nay, they have rejected the Catholic form, and changed it into this—*Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and administer His Holy Sacrament*: and, as to intention, how can there be any with those who deny that Christ instituted any unbloody sacrifice? And the sacrifice being taken away, the Priest is taken away: the Priest being taken away, the Bishop is taken away: both being taken away, the Church, the Faith, and the Gospel are taken away.

These are the *reasons* on which the decree of Clement XI. was pronounced. A determination founded on such unmitigated fictions can have no value whatever. The question remains where it was, and any member of the Roman Church is as free as ever to maintain the Validity of our Orders."

Aberdeen, June, 1857.

XX.

LETTER ON ANGLICAN ORDERS, FROM THE PEN OF THE
VERY REV. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D. WITH REPLIES TO
THE SAME.

1. *The following, taken from THE MONTH, 1868, is reprinted verbatim:—*

*The Oratory, Birmingham,
August 5th, 1868.*

MY DEAR FATHER COLERIDGE,

You ask me what I precisely mean in my *Apologia* Appendix p. 26, by saying, *apropos* of Anglican Orders, that “Antiquarian arguments are altogether unequal to the urgency of visible facts.”* I will try to explain:—

I. The inquiry into Anglican orders has ever been to me of the class which I must call dreary; for it is dreary surely to have to grope into the minute intricate passages and obscure corners of past occurrences in order to ascertain whether this man was ever consecrated, or that man used a valid form, or a certain sacramental intention came up to the mark, or the report, or register of an ecclesiastical act can be cleared of suspicion. On giving myself to consider the question, I never have been able to arrive at anything higher than a probable conclusion, which is most unsatisfactory except to antiquarians, who delight in researches into the past for their own sake.

* The passage to which the question answered in this letter is the following, which we give here for the convenience of our readers. Dr. Newman is speaking of the Establishment:—

“As to its possession of an Episcopal succession from the time of the Apostles, well, it may have it, and if the Holy See ever so decided, I will believe it, as being the decision of a higher judgment than my own; but for myself, I must have St. Philip’s gift, who saw the sacerdotal character on the head of a gaily-attired youngster, before I can by my own wit acquiesce in it, for antiquarian arguments are altogether unequal to the urgency of visible facts.”—*Apologia*, Appendix, p. 26 (1st Edition.)

II. Now, on the other hand, what do I mean by "visible facts?" I mean such definite facts as throw a broad antecedent light upon what may be presumed, in a case in which sufficient evidence is not forthcoming. For instance:—

(1.) The Apostolical Succession, its necessity, and its grace, is not an Anglican tradition, though it is a tradition found in the Anglican Church. By contrast, our Lord's divinity is an Anglican tradition. Every one, high and low, holds it. It is not only in Prayer Book and Catechism, but in the mouths of all professors of Anglicanism. Not to believe it is to be no Anglican, and any persons in authority, for 300 years, who were suspected to doubt or explain it away, were marked men, as Dr. Colenso is now marked. And they have been so few that they could be counted. Not such is the apostolical succession; and, considering the Church is the *columna et firmamentum veritatis*, and is ever bound to stir up the gift that is in her, there is surely a strong presumption that the Anglican body has not what it does not profess to have. I wonder how many of its bishops and deans hold the doctrine at this time; some who do not occur to the mind at once. One knows what was the case thirty or forty years ago by the famous saying of Blomfield, Bishop of London.

(2.) If there is a true succession there is a true eucharist; if there is not a true eucharist there is no true succession. Now, what is the presumption here? I think it is Mr. Alexander Knox who says or suggests that, if so great a gift be given, it must have a *custos*. Who is the *custos* of the Anglican Eucharist? The Anglican clergy? Could I, without distressing or offending an Anglican, describe what sort of *custodes* they have been, and are, to their Eucharist? "O bone custos," in the words of the poet, "cui commendavi Filium meum!" Is it not charitable towards the bulk of the Anglican clergy to hope and believe that so great a treasure has not been given to their keeping? And would our Lord leave Himself for centuries in such hands? Inasmuch then as "the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" in the Anglican communion is without protective ritual and jealous guardianship, there seems to me a strong presumption that neither the real gift nor its appointed guardians are to be found in that communion.

(3.) Previous baptism is the condition of the valid administration of the other sacraments. When I was in the Anglican

Church I saw enough of the lax administration of baptism even among high churchmen, though they did not of course intend it, to fill me with great uneasiness. Of course there are definite persons whom one might point out whose baptisms are sure to be valid; but my argument has nothing to do with *present* baptisms. Bishops were baptized not lately but as children. The present Bishops were consecrated by other Bishops, they again.

What I have seen in the Anglican Church makes it very difficult for me to deny that every now and then a Bishop was a consecrator who had never been baptized. Some Bishops have been brought up in the north as Presbyterians, others as Dissenters, others as Low Churchmen, others have been baptized in the careless perfunctory way once so common; there is then much reason to believe that some consecrators were not Bishops, for the simple reason that, formally speaking, they were not Christians. But at least there is a great presumption that when evidently our Lord has not left a rigid rule of baptism He has not left a valid ordination.

By the light of such presumptions as these I interpret the doubtful issues of the antiquarian argument, and feel deeply that if Anglican orders are unsafe with reference to the actual evidence producible for their validity, much more unsafe are they when considered in their surroundings.

Most sincerely yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

2. *Dr. Newman on Anglican Orders.**

[The following very remarkable Letter from a distinguished clerical convert to the Roman Catholic Church has been sent to us, with the writer's permission, by the clergyman to whom it was originally addressed.]

My Dear—You ask me how Dr. Newman's recent Letter on Anglican Orders has impressed myself and those among Catholics, especially converts, whose sympathies accord with mine, and you observe at the same time that you have

* *The Union Review*, vol. vi., pp. 549-560. London: 1868.

read with considerable surprise so feeble an argument from a writer of such transcendent power. I need hardly say that any utterance of Dr. Newman's must always command the respectful attention at least of all intelligent men, whether in your Communion or in ours. It may be pretty safely assumed that whatever view he has to put forward will be stated by him with the greatest force and perspicuity which the case admits of. And his letter on Anglican Orders forms no exception. It would be very difficult, I believe, to express at once so concisely and so pointedly the utmost that can be honestly urged against the English succession by a writer who has arrived at an adverse conclusion and who has any real acquaintance with the facts. That the argument is weak, I admit, and will presently explain why I think so. But that is not the writer's fault.

I. Into what he calls the "antiquarian," and what I should prefer to call the historical argument, Dr. Newman declines to enter, though he implies, if I rightly understand him, that the "*probable* conclusion" from it is favourable to the validity of Anglican Orders, and that supposing the historical evidence was "*sufficient*"—i.e. of course morally conclusive—there would be no room for introducing such "antecedent presumptions" as he has alone dealt with. On the other hand, supposing the historical evidence to break down, any reference to such collateral topics would obviously be superfluous. Now my own conviction has always been, as you are aware, that the probability in favour of English Orders, as gathered from the direct evidence, amounts to moral certainty, which is the highest kind of certainty attainable in such questions. I have therefore myself no more doubt of their validity than I have of the validity of the Orders of the Catholic Church or of the Greeks. And all I have read and heard on the subject, which I have had opportunities of discussing with many Catholic divines, both English and foreign—most of whom took the opposite side—has confirmed me in that conviction. But it is no part of my business here to enter upon the historical argument, on which however the whole question really hinges, nor would it be possible to do so to any purpose within the limits of a single letter. Meanwhile you will not have failed to observe that the fact of Dr. Newman's pointedly refusing to lay any stress on that argument as against your Orders, is in itself very significant ;

and it is worth remembering that the line of *a posteriori* objections, which he has felt compelled exclusively to rely upon, was never broached or thought of till the attempt to discredit the succession on historical grounds, and especially by the famous Nag's Head fable, had become desperate.

II. We have then now to consider the "three presumptions" which Dr. Newman urges on the adverse side. It will be best to take them in his own order, for the arrangement is not accidental. He begins with the weakest point, and winds up with the strongest. It is hardly necessary to say that all of them have long been as familiar to my mind as to yours, for they have been alleged over and over again during the last twenty years by successive assailants of Anglican Orders, and constitute in fact what may be called the stock popular arguments on the subject. But though there is nothing new in the matter, it acquires that freshness in the method of statement which belongs to everything which comes from Dr. Newman's pen. I am however simply stating the impression left by his letter, not only on my mind but on that of others whose judgment is far weightier than my own, when I say that in giving to this collateral line of argument the utmost force and clearness of expression it is capable of, he has only illustrated more clearly its inherent weakness.

(1.) The first point need not detain us long. Whether or no the Apostolical Succession be a "tradition of," or only "in, the Anglican Church," or neither, cannot surely affect the existence of the succession one way or the other. If not a single Bishop on the bench believed in it (to put the extremest hypothesis) that would not disprove their possession of the gift, as neither would the belief of the whole Episcopate avail one iota to supply its absence. Take a parallel case: Baptismal Regeneration is certainly not a tradition either "of" or "in" the Wesleyan body. On the contrary, it would be repudiated by every minister and member of that sect. Yet Dr. Newman will not deny that, wherever the essentials of the Sacrament are complied with, the gift is really conferred through the ministry of Wesleyan preachers. The same principle will apply to the transmission of the priesthood in the Church of England. It is not therefore important to examine the accuracy of Dr. Newman's estimate of the facts, though I am disposed to think with you that he has overstated the case when he speaks of the

Apostolic succession as not being a tradition of the Anglican Church, and as being repudiated by most of its dignitaries in our own day. Whatever may be said of the validity of Parker's consecration, there can be no doubt that great importance was attached to it at the time, and that great pains were taken to secure a valid consecration. And from the beginning of the Caroline School downwards the Apostolic Succession has been, I should have supposed, the dominant tradition of the Anglican Church; from the first it was expressly laid down in the Prayer Book. If my memory does not deceive me, Dean Stanley mentions in his Life of his father, as an act of signal *courage* on his part, when Bishop of Norwich, that he preached on some public occasion *against* the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession. That such a proceeding on the part of a Bishop should be regarded as a proof of exceptional boldness—and that some thirty years ago, when the High Church party was not near so strong as it is now—seems to indicate clearly enough what is and has been the received tradition on the subject.

(2.) The next point referred to by Dr. Newman is perhaps, the commonest of all the popular arguments against English Orders. If there is a true Succession, there must be a true Eucharist, and how does this consist with the general disbelief in the Real Presence and the irreverent handling which results from it? The argument is of a kind which appeals strongly to the feelings, though it cannot be said to have any logical force. But whatever weight may be attached to it, I believe that it really tells the other way. No doubt there has been in the Anglican Church an almost universal rejection of Transubstantiation (based however in great measure on a traditional misapprehension of its meaning, as Mr. Cobb has conclusively shown in *The Kiss of Peace**), and a widely spread disbelief in the Real Presence altogether. But on the other hand there has been all along an influential tradition among both clergy and people of belief in the Real Presence, which is unmistakeably taught in the Catechism and the Ritual. And in the present day I suppose there are, to speak cautiously, many hundreds of your clergy, and many thousands of the laity, who believe exactly as we do on the subject. *Is there any single Communion without*

* *The Kiss of Peace*, 2nd edition, with Sequel. London: 1869.

a priesthood in which this phenomenon can be paralleled? Or, to put it in another form, does not the Church of England, if it be without a priesthood, present a phenomenon in this respect absolutely unique in ecclesiastical history? I speak under correction, but I should be much surprised to learn that there is any trace of a belief in consecration, and the Sacramental Presence as dependent on it, to be found among the ministers of any single Dissenting community in England, or among the Scotch Presbyterians, or any of the Protestant bodies on the Continent. The very suggestion sounds almost like a satire. That there should be a great revival of that belief, expressing itself in various forms of ritual and devotional observance, among the clergy of a Church which had for three centuries been destitute of a true priesthood, is not indeed inconceivable, though it is quite unprecedented; and if the historical argument told against your Orders, I do not think you would have any right to rely on such *a posteriori* considerations as a substitute for it. But if we are to quit the historical ground and deal with subjective arguments, and “antecedent presumptions,” and the “urgency of visible facts,” then this fact must certainly be taken for what it is worth as a strong presumption in your favour.

But even waiving this point, it seems to me that the argument from Anglican disesteem of the Eucharist, however plausible, is a very dangerous one for us to employ. To say the least it proves too much. We are playing with edged tools. Are there no Catholic priests, both of our own and former days, of whom it would be impossible “without distressing or offending” a Catholic, “to describe what sort of ‘custodes’ they have been, and are, to their Eucharist?” What for instance of too many Italian priests of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? What of the Milanese clergy when St. Charles first took possession of that See? What of the Roman priests whose glaring profanity in celebrating Mass gave the first shock to the faith of Luther? Or to come to our own day, what of those South American priests whose scandalous lives are a by-word, and of whom the late Emperor Maximilian—a loyal and pious Catholic—speaks in his journal as “not priests, but men in black coats who read Mass?” Or what again of the rank and file of the Russian country clergy, who are commonly reported to be sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance and animality,

but of whose valid priesthood nobody entertains a doubt? Might not the terrible reproof be addressed to any of these, "O bone custos, cui commendavi Filium Meum?" Are they fitter custodians of the Eucharistic gift than the mass of the Anglican clergy? Perhaps it will be said, that at least all of them believed in it. It is more than probable that some of those I have referred to did not. There was a wide-spread infidelity, to mention one example only, in the Roman and Florentine society of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, which had penetrated all ranks of the clergy even to the very highest. Pope Alexander VI. told Pico de Mirandola that he did not believe in God, and the probability is that Leo. X. was also an infidel, though there is not the same direct evidence of it. But supposing all these unworthy custodians of the Eucharist did and do believe in it, so much the worse. It is certainly, to adopt Dr. Newman's language, most "charitable towards the bulk" of them to assume their unconsciousness of the treasure committed to their keeping. I am loth to dwell on a painful subject, but as it is certain that our Lord *has* "left Himself for centuries in such hands," it seems to me that the less said about this line of argument against Anglican Orders the better. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

(8.) Dr. Newman's last point is the most plausible, and at first sight it looks formidable, though I do not think it will bear inspection. I mean the threadbare argument drawn from the alleged insecurity of Anglican baptisms. In the first place, like the last argument, it proves too much. When Dr. Newman speaks of our Lord not having "left a *rigid rule* of baptism" in the English Church, I presume he means that the rule is not rigidly followed, for the letter of the Anglican rubric guards all the essentials of the Sacrament quite as securely as the letter of the Roman rubric. But who can venture to affirm that there has never been any carelessness or wilful perversity in the administration of baptism, whether by priest or layman, (for doctors and nurses often have to baptize) in the Catholic Church during eighteen centuries? Consider the gross ignorance prevalent among the clergy during part of the middle ages. It is on record, again, that St. Charles Borromeo found his priests at Milan ignorant even of the form of absolution. Consider on the other hand the vicious lives of many of the clergy in all ages, and the

probably numerous instances, at one period, of Jews and Moors who concealed their misbelief, rising to high places in the Spanish Church. Such miscreants, hating the religion they outwardly professed under terror of the Inquisition, would not only be careless in administering Sacraments, or have a defective intention—which is the worst that can be urged against the Evangelicals—but, if they knew enough theology to understand what they were about, would do all that in them lay, out of deliberate malice, to vitiate the effects of the ordinances they were constrained to celebrate. Perhaps it will be replied, that in such cases the principle of “the baptism of desire” comes into play, and thus the child who through no fault of his own had been invalidly christened would be *coram Deo* a baptized Christian, and therefore a subject of valid ordination. But if this explanation is allowed to cover exceptional cases among Catholics or Greeks, there is no reason for not extending it to Anglicans also. If it is not admitted, and the arguments from careless baptisms is rigidly pressed against Anglican Orders, it will shake the validity of every sacrament (except baptism) administered throughout Christendom. There can be no *mathematical* certainty of the valid consecration of any single priest or bishop, Catholic or Greek any more than Anglican. Whether “in the Anglican Church” or elsewhere, “it is very difficult to deny that *every now and then* a bishop was a consecrator who had never been baptized,” and this is all that Dr. Newman ventures to assert. But the antecedent probabilities are immense against *all three* bishops who take part in a given consecration being unbaptized. Yet this must have happened, not once but over and over again, before the succession of the Church of England could be destroyed. An occasional break in the chain would very soon right itself. And although, where there is a distinct reason for doubting about the valid administration of a sacrament in some particular instance, the rule is to repeat it conditionally, in the absence of any specific ground for doubt, the presumption is always in favour of its validity. If individuals were encouraged or allowed to question the sufficiency of their baptism, unless on some special ground affecting their own case, nobody could feel secure. I may add that our present custom of conditionally re-baptizing converts is of comparatively recent introduction. In the last century, when a Scotch Presbyterian lady who joined the Catholic Church at Rome, was

anxious to be re-baptized, it was peremptorily forbidden by the authorities.

On the whole I think that you, or rather all lovers of truth, may be congratulated on the appearance of Dr. Newman's letter. It is always an advantage to be able to gauge the full strength of an objection, and therefore well to have it stated by its most competent advocate. This service Dr. Newman has rendered to the inquiry about Anglican Orders. Hitherto the adverse view has been usually maintained by writers too ignorant, or too prejudiced (not to say disingenuous) or both, to have any real weight, and their refutation was too easy to be quite satisfactory. Catholic writers of mark did not touch the question, or, like Bossuet, they have left on record an opinion favourable to the English succession. It has now at last been taken up by a theologian of consummate ability and of the highest character, who is well acquainted with its true bearings, and feels it his duty to say all that can honestly be said in defence of the current view. We see how very little all that comes to, and we know that there is nothing to be added to it.

I am writing against time, and in the midst of pressing engagements, and must beg you to excuse the hurried composition of this letter. The opinions it contains have not been hastily adopted, but are the result of study and reflection, and have been matured through many years.

I remain, yours sincerely,

* * *

Sept. 26th, 1868.

P.S.—Since my letter of Sept. 26th was written, and was in your hands, a second letter of Dr. Newman's in reply to the Rev. T. W. Mossman, has appeared in the *Month* for October, explaining and supplementing his former argument. It has of course no direct bearing on what I had previously written, except in so far as Mr. Mossman has touched on some of the same points which had occurred to me also, but I shall probably best meet your wishes if I add here, by way of Postscript, such remarks as seem called for by the new matter it contains.

The two additional points which I understand Dr. Newman to bring forward are briefly these:—(1.) That the force of his argument is *cumulative*, and cannot be adequately gauged by the strength of each of his three presumptions taken singly; (2) that the fact of objections to the Anglican succession having

been constantly maintained by Catholic writers during the last three centuries is in itself a *prima facie* argument against it. There is some further matter, not strictly argumentative but illustrative, which shall be noticed by-and-by.

I. First then, as to the cumulative force of the alleged presumptions, my reply is twofold—

(a) Dr. Newman explicitly admits that if there were any "historical or other (?) demonstration" of the validity of your Orders, no cumulation of presumptions could tell against it. He thinks, however, though he declines to discuss the point, that there is no conclusive historical evidence. I think, as I said before, that there *is*; and that it is, to use his own words, "equivalent to a demonstration"—not of course a mathematical demonstration, for that the nature of the case precludes equally as regards Anglican Orders or our own, but a moral demonstration, which is alone possible, and therefore is sufficient. And I hold this moral certainty to be as clear in your case as in ours. This then would be my first answer to the allegation of any amount of mere *a posteriori* presumptions, whether singly or cumulatively urged—that the direct historical evidence put them out of court to begin with. And it is necessary to insist on this point, because there is a tendency in some quarters to assume that, because the historical evidence has been on various grounds and at various times called in question, there must be a flaw, somewhere, whereas the fact that a number of objections have been successfully raised, which have been successively (and successfully) demolished points to an exactly opposite inference. It would be hard, I fear, to find any fact having a controversial interest, "which nobody can deny." The Pope's recent Letter to the Protestants *e.g.* says that "nobody can deny" a whole string of propositions which about a third of the Christian world has been loudly denying for some centuries past. But a fact, which, during three centuries of bitter controversy, nobody has been able to *disprove*, stands really on much stronger ground than a fact which has never been disputed, merely because nobody happened to have an interest in disputing it.

(β) But, secondly, admitting for argument's sake Dr. Newman's hypothesis that the historical evidence is inconclusive, and that there is therefore room for weighing collateral presumptions, I don't quite understand him when he says that even

though you could snap in two *each stick* in the bundle, if taken separately, there is still some force in the whole bundle taken collectively. No doubt a number of *weak* presumptions taken together are worth rather more than a single weak one, though a shred of direct evidence on the other side would outweigh them all. But fifty presumptions which are not only *weak* but *worthless* are of no more value than one. The strength of a chain is proverbially the strength of its weakest link, much more if *every* link in the chain, or *every* stick in the bundle, can be "snapped in two"—in other words, if every stick is *rotten*—then the whole bundle is rotten, and it matters nothing how few or how many sticks it contains. Fifty 0's will never make 1. Now this is just what Dr. Newman "allows for argument's sake," and what I have before tried to show is really the case, with his three presumptions, though it would be difficult to state them more forcibly than he has done. When they come to be analysed they either prove nothing, like the argument about Anglican tradition; or they are at least equally capable of being turned the other way, like the argument about profanation of the Eucharist; or they prove a great deal too much, like the favourite but suicidal argument about careless baptisms. As therefore I can attribute no argumentative force at all to any of the presumptions taken separately, I can attribute none to the three taken together.

II. Still less can I attach any weight to the fourth presumption, which Dr. Newman adds in his second letter, from "the very fact that elaborate arguments are necessary in proof of the validity of Anglican Orders." It seems to me decidedly the least happy he has selected, for more reasons than one. *Why* are these arguments necessary? The circumstance of a fact being questioned does not *per se* afford the faintest presumption even that it is questionable, unless it can be shown that *nobody had any interest* (other than pure love of truth) in questioning it. "Cæsar's wife should not be suspected." True, but I might quote Dr. Newman's own remark in the *Apologia*, that though plenty of mud may be thrown at an innocent person, it will not eventually stain, even if it should stick. He would not himself, I suppose, think there was a shadow of stain on the purity of Marie Antoinette, notwithstanding the infamous scandal which has been industriously propagated about her, and which even in our own day historical writers think it

necessary to meet with "elaborate" disproof. Her character was blackened simply because there were persons whose political or personal interest it was to blacken it. And the attack on Anglican Orders had just the same kind of origin. Nobody has had any theological interest in questioning the Orders of the Catholic Church or the Greek, though Lord Macaulay does try to throw a slur on them (if I remember right, in his review of Mr. Gladstone's *Church Principles*, in the *Edinburgh*), in order to discredit the Sacramental principle altogether, which by the way appears to me the only logical upshot of Dr. Newman's line of argument. But, generally speaking, Protestants don't care two straws whether our Orders are valid or not; and High Church Anglicans, however bitter against Rome, would have no desire "to foul their own nest" by questioning the source from which the English succession is derived. On the other hand, it *was* held to be of supreme importance to discredit Anglicanism by showing if possible that it had no priesthood, and was therefore not merely a schismatical Church (as it is) but no Church at all. Mind, I think myself the policy was a wholly mistaken one, even regarded exclusively from the stand-point of immediate Catholic interests, and that an opposite line would have been infinitely more prudent as well as more candid and charitable. But that is nothing to the purpose. As a matter of fact the Jesuit missionaries of Elizabeth's reign, and those who have followed in their footsteps since, *did* think it necessary for Catholic interests to strain every nerve to disprove the Anglican Succession. Hence first the scandalous invention of the Nag's Head Fable, which I believe there has been some attempt to revive in our own day. When that was too much blown upon for any respectable writer to be able to use it, the mare's nest about Barlow's consecration was thrust to the front, though even if his consecration could have been disproved it would have had no real bearing on Parker's, for of the Episcopal Orders of his three other consecrators there can be no doubt. When that broke down, the Doctrine of Intention was attempted to be worked in a way which, if it proved anything, would shake the validity of every sacrament in Christendom. Dr. Newman is of course too clear-sighted and too honest to rake up these exploded fallacies. But he does not seem to have observed how remarkably the whole history of the controversy about Anglican Orders, so far from tending to shake their validity, very strongly con-

firms it: At all events, no one can profit by his own wrong. We have no right to argue that a matter is doubtful, simply because we have done our best to involve it in doubt, though with very poor success. How stand the facts? A body of men, including some of the most accomplished divines and disputants of their day, and who for a century and a half after the Reformation shaped the intellect and guided the conscience of Catholic Europe, considered it, rightly or wrongly, to be of high importance for the interests of the Church to discredit the evidence for a particular alleged fact, which from the nature of the case is incapable of demonstrative proof. The process of picking holes in it has been persistently pursued, as Dr. Newman is careful to remind us, through three centuries. And now at the end of the time every count in the indictment which has in turn been chiefly relied upon has broken down, and he is himself obliged to fall back on *a posteriori* presumptions which are at best of a purely subjective character, and, as it seems to me (and I know to others also), are far more available weapons against sacramental doctrine altogether than against this or that particular episcopal succession. As to the Anglican Bishops not having been recognised as such by the Greeks, there has been hitherto no opportunity for any formal recognition, and the Eastern authorities have had neither the means nor the motive for examining the question. I am informed that the opinion of such of their learned men as have turned their attention to it is favourable, but you probably know more about this than I do.

And here I may just refer to an observation Dr. Newman repeats more than once, and which I do not understand, viz.—that he would consider a decision of the Holy See or of an Œcumenical Council in favour of Anglican Orders equivalent to a demonstration on account of the “divine gift” intrusted to them. Now it appears to me that this is just one of those questions to be decided by human evidence, not by supernatural guidance. We are always told that the divine guidance of the Church, like Revelation itself, was vouchsafed to, aid us in the knowledge of what lies beyond the reach of our natural faculties, but that we have no right to tempt God by seeking supernatural direction on matters perfectly within the compass of natural reason. “*Mundum tradidit disputationibus hominum.*” The practical decision of how Anglican Orders are to be treated

must, from the necessity of the case, lie with ecclesiastical authority. But surely that authority would have to form its judgment not by divine guidance, but by sifting the historical evidence. To expect a revelation, or look for infallibility about it, seems as though *e.g.* one were to ask for a revelation as to whether or not St. Peter was ever at Rome, which is as much an historical question as the murder of Agricola.

There remain two passages in Dr. Newman's second letter, which are rather rhetorical and illustrative than argumentative, on which it may be well in conclusion to say a few words.

(1.) When Dr. Newman asks for some precise parallel to the case of the Anglican Church, of a Communion which, after having, its Orders for three centuries ignored by East and West, has at the end of that period had them acknowledged, he must surely be aware that he is demanding an historical impossibility, and for this simple reason:—No single Communion which broke off from the Holy See at the Reformation, except the Anglican, made, or could make, or cared to make, any claim to retaining its Succession. No other therefore could have its Orders "ignored," because by universal consent, including that of the parties themselves, there were no Orders to ignore. On the other hand (putting aside a few obscure mediæval sects) sacramental heresy was of itself a new growth of the sixteenth century, and there was therefore no likelihood that any schismatical bodies of previous ages would either themselves be careless about their sacraments, or that it would occur to their opponents to taunt them with it. If however this demand is pressed, I will reply by another which I have made before, and which involves no such historical impossibility. Show me a single example of a religious body which for three centuries has possessed the form of a ministry only without the reality of priesthood (there are plenty of them in existence), and where at the end of that period the doctrines of priestly consecration, of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which had never been wholly lost sight of, are found more deeply rooted, more clearly apprehended, and more widely spreading than they were at the beginning. When that is done, I may begin to think that "visible facts" do not harmonise with the historical evidence for your Succession.

(2.) I must honestly confess myself unable to grasp the exact point of Dr. Newman's "illustration parallel, though not

similar," from some supposed Catholic country in the Western hemisphere three hundred years hence. In the first place, it seems to me obvious that, under the deplorable circumstances supposed, it *would* be the first duty of the Holy See to take all possible pains to ascertain whether the succession had been preserved before ignoring it, and substituting a new one in its place. But waiving this point, the supposed case appears to me not only not "similar" to that of Anglicanism, but in no sense "parallel," nor has Dr. Newman explained in what he means the parallel to consist. Every single detail is so different, that there is absolutely nothing in the one picture to suggest the other to one's mind, and yet it is on a review of these hypothetical details that the Pope of the future is assumed to be justified in "ignoring without a word" the orders of the delinquents. Supposing he were, it is difficult to see how it bears on his conduct towards Anglicans. That the hypothetical state of things described by Dr. Newman is only too like that described by the late Emperor Maximilian, and other travellers, as actually existing "in parts of the Western hemisphere" is true enough; but as nobody questions the Orders of the Mexican or Brazilian priesthood now, their desecration of the Blessed Sacrament, so far as it has any bearing on the validity of your Orders, tells in your favour.

This postscript has run to a much greater length than I had intended, and I feel more strongly than before how much better it might have been expressed. But I have no time for revision and polishing, and I think you will understand my meaning. As you wish to print the original letter, this addition had better be printed with it, but without my name. For nothing was further from my thoughts than to enter into a public controversy on the subject, least of all to come forward as the antagonist of Dr. Newman. I must however say, that his second letter has in no way diminished the impression left on my mind by the first, that such a method of attack on Anglican Orders, if it were admitted, would recoil with terrible force on Catholic Orders also, or, to speak more accurately, would tend to shake the whole system of sacramental belief. It is identical in principle with Macaulay's argument against the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. And I have good reason to know that this impression is shared by others among us whose judgment would carry far greater weight than mine. I might add that

the same line of reasoning may be, and indeed has been, freely used against the evidences of Christianity altogether. Nothing can be well more unlike what the language of our Lord and His Prophets would lead us to expect than the "visible" aspect of modern Christendom. At the same time I also quite believe that Dr. Newman has adopted the only line of argument that an honest writer acquainted with the facts can use for the purpose. It is weak, because it is honest. The really telling arguments on that side got their apparent force by distorting or suppressing or inventing facts. Of that of course he is as little capable as he would be of speaking in "wantonness" on such a subject.

Let me remind you in conclusion, that the sooner you and your friends can bring out an exhaustive work in vindication of your Orders, which is said to have been in contemplation for some years, the better. I am not without hopes that such a work might convince Dr. Newman himself that the historical argument is more conclusive than he thinks. Only it ought to be published certainly in French, and if possible in German also, as well as in English, or it won't reach most of those you want to influence. It would be well if it could appear before the coming Council.

Oct. 10th, 1868.

The following Postscript to the Reply to Dr. Newman, is from the same hand :—

My Dear—You may remember that I said Dr. Newman's objections to your Orders appeared to me "far more available weapons against sacramental doctrine altogether than against this or that particular episcopal succession," and I referred to Macaulay's use of the argument in that sense. The following passage from Chillingworth, which has since been brought before my notice, so remarkably bears me out in that view, that you may like to have it. On Dr. Newman's principles of argument it seems to me absolutely unanswerable. And I conceive that the real answer is the same in both cases, viz. that the objections labour under the common fallacy of requiring mathematical proof, where moral evidence is alone possible and is therefore sufficient.

I am, ever yours,

* * *

Nov. 6th, 1868.

The passage from Chillingworth is as follows:—

“I fear you will repent the time that ever you urged it against us that we make man’s salvation depend upon uncertainties, for the objection returns upon you many ways: as first thus,—The salvation of many millions of Papists (as they suppose and teach) depends upon their having the sacrament of penance truly administered unto them. This again depends upon the minister’s being a true priest. That such or such a man is priest, not himself, much less any other, can have any possible certainty, for it depends upon a great many contingent and uncertain supposals. He that will pretend to be certain of it must undertake to know for a certain all these things that follow. First, that he was baptized with due matter. Secondly, with the due form of words, which he cannot know unless he were both present and attentive. Thirdly, he must know that he was baptized with due intention, and that is that the minister of his baptism was not a secret Jew, nor a Moor, nor an Atheist (of which kind I fear experience gives you a just cause to fear that Italy and Spain have priests not a few), but a Christian in heart as well as profession (otherwise believing the sacrament to be nothing, in giving it he could intend to give nothing), nor a Samosatian, nor an Arian, but one that was capable of having due intention, from which they that believe not the doctrine of the Trinity are excluded by you. And lastly, that he was neither drunk nor distracted at the administration of the sacrament, nor out of negligence or malice omitted his intention. Fourthly, we must undertake to know that the Bishop which ordained him priest ordained him completely with due matter, form, and intention; and, consequently, that he again was neither Jew nor Moor nor Atheist, nor liable to any such exception as is inconsistent with due intention in giving the sacrament of orders. Fifthly, he must undertake to know that the Bishop which made him priest was a priest himself; for your rule is ‘*Nihil dat quod habet*,’ and consequently, that there was again none of the former nullities in his baptism which might make him incapable of ordination, nor no invalidity in his ordination, but a true priest to ordain him, again the requisite matter and form and due intention all concurring. Lastly, he must pretend to know the same of him that made him priest, and him that made him priest even until he comes to the very fountain of priesthood. . . . In fine, to keep

this one thing, you must first know ten thousand others whereof not any one is a thing that can be known, there being no necessity that it should be true, which only can qualify anything for an object of science, but only at the best a high degree of probability that it is so. But then that of ten thousand probables no one should be false, that of ten thousand requisites whereof any one may fail not one should be wanting, this to me is extremely improbable and even cousin-german to impossible."

No. XXI.

CERTAIN COMMENTS ON ROMAN CATHOLIC STATEMENTS,—THE CHARGE OF FORGERY.

ONE might reasonably have hoped that the style of theological controversy current in the seventeenth century, would not have been disinterred. But in the *Letters on Anglican Orders*, of Mr. John Williams, a Roman Catholic clergyman, a line is adopted which it is impossible with patience to notice, and which deserves the severest reprehension of all literary men. Any book or document which plainly and palpably tells against, or completely overthrows, the theory he sets up, is at once characterized as a forgery by this very rash author.

For example, at p. 101 of his *Letters*,* he writes as follows:—

“The first case I take is from Mason, who, in his edition of 1625, thus alludes to the celebrated conference between John Hart and John Rainolds:— ‘When John Hart, thirty years ago, denied our orders, as you do now, the learned Rainolds, out of the Registers of Edmund Freak, by whom he was ordained a priest, and out of Matthew Parker’s Registers, by whom Freak was ordained Bishop, transcribed the consecrations, which when Hart saw, he presently confessed that he thought nothing of that nature could be produced, and therefore agreed that the whole argument should be erased and expunged out of the Conference, that it might not be printed, being then to go to the press.’

“If there were any proof in this, it would merely give the date 1583, the year in which the conference took place. But not one particle of proof is here, even to that extent. It is the *ipse dixit* of one man, Rainolds, and that man not worthy of credit. I have the book of the conference now before me. It is a bulky, black-letter quarto of some seven hundred pages, printed by John Wolfe. London: 1584. The book itself is a fraud and a lie! I do not deny that a Conference was held between Hart and Rainolds; but I do deny, from internal evidence, that this is a true report of the same.”—(pp. 101, 102).

Now here were certain most inconvenient facts. A controversy had taken place between an Anglo-Roman-Catholic and a member of the Church of England, in which the arguments

* Second Edition. London: 1867.

used on both sides were set forth at great length. That public controversy notoriously took place more than twenty years before Holywood first published his story of the Nag's Head Fable. At the close of the controversy a full and complete account was immediately published in London in 1584—only twenty-five years after Parker's consecration, and exactly twenty years previous to the origination of the Fable just alluded to. This book received considerable attention. It was referred to, and quoted from, by several controversialists on both sides. Yet, with a calm assurance at which it is impossible not to wonder, this Mr. Williams—because the book under consideration contains indisputable proof of the existence of Parker's Register, and still further of the fact that it was *then* known to exist, and was referred to—at once sweeps the evidence aside with this curt remark:—"The book itself is a fraud and a lie!" Such assertions as these do not need to be answered. A fair statement of the case in question makes one wonder at the hopefulness of those who imagine that any cause could be advanced by such unworthy and discreditable tactics. The same style and mode of controversy are the only remarkable features of the book, which is indeed a literary curiosity.

A similar charge against the volume, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ* is also made, for a similar reason, a few pages further on, in the following passage:—

"Another fact alleged in support of the *Register*, is the Life of Parker in the work entitled *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*; and printed in London, by John Day, in 1572, three years before Parker's decease. The book consists of the lives of Seventy Archbishops of Canterbury, Parker himself being the seventieth. In this Life of Parker, the Lambeth Consecration is referred to, as having been performed on December 17th, by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins. There was also a marginal note referring to the registers, thus worded:—'Hæ confirmationes et consecrationes in registris apparent.' 'These confirmations and consecrations appear in the registers.' There are also two tables: one displaying the armorial bearings, both episcopal and private, of all the Anglican Bishops at that time, 1572, occupying the English Sees; Parker's being conspicuously placed in the centre of the page: the other being a list of all their names and dioceses, their degrees, order, native county, age, and date of consecration. The work itself is ascribed to Parker; and as to the authorship of sixty-nine of the lives, together with the date 1572 as regards *them*, I am not disposed to cavil. But with regard to the seventieth—the Life of Parker—and the date 1572 as connected with it, I unhesitatingly denounce it as an imposture. It was annexed afterwards, and even a long time afterwards, to the rest of the

work ; that is, supposing the date of the principal part of the work to be the year 1572."

Now, with regard to this second charge of forgery—here characterized as "an imposture,"—it need only be pointed out that the obvious reason why it has been so characterized by Mr. Williams is, that *it* likewise plainly testifies to certain facts which wholly and altogether overthrow that person's ungrounded assumptions. For that they are ungrounded will be evident from the following extract from an *Original Letter to Burleigh*, published by Strype. Still further, an inspection of the volume at Lambeth, to which Parker's son, John, added MS. notes and original documents, would show at once how perfectly gratuitous and random are the charges of forgery and imposture which Mr. Williams thought it becoming to bring, in order to bolster up a conclusion drawn from no premisses whatever. Here is a portion of the *Letter* published by Strype, which explains the reason of Parker undertaking the work, and at the same time accounts for the small number of copies now existing :—

"You maye note many varities in my doinges ; but I thought it not against my profession to express my tymes, and gyve som testimonyes to my fellowe-brothers, of such of my coat as were in place in her Majestie's reigne, and when I was thus placed. And though ye maye rightly blame an ambitious fantasie for setting out our churches armes in colors, yet ye maye relinquyshe the leaffe and cast it into the fyre ; as I have joynd it but lose in the booke for that purpose, yf you so thinke it mete, and as ye maye, if it so please you (without gret gryef to me), cast the whole boke the same waye. Which boke I have not govyn to iiii men in the whole realme, and peradventure shall never come to sight abroad, though som men smelling of the prynting of it seame to be very desirouse cravers of the same. I am contente to referre it wholly to your judgement, to stond or to fall. To kepe it by me I yet purpose whyles I lyve, to add and to amende as occasion shal serve me, or utterly to suppress it and to bren it. And thus making your Lordship pryvye to my folyes, and for that I have within my house in wagis, drawers and cutters, paynters, lymners, wryters and boke-bynders, I was the bolder to take myn occasion thus, *equitare in arundine longa*. So, spending my wastful tyme within myn own wallys, tyl Almighty God shal cal me out of this tabernacle, which I pray God may be to his glory, and my soule helthe, I say, *ut obdormiam in Domino, et requiescam in pace, in spe resurrectionis cum Christo Salvatore meo*."—Letter of Archbishop Parker to the Lord Treasurer, Burleigh, concerning the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*.

THE CHARGE OF FORGERY.

"Any one who disbelieves the Acts recorded in those Registers, ought, if he is consistent, to disbelieve also Queen Elizabeth's

Coronation, or any other like public, official, notorious, and duly-recorded Act, because, forsooth, Puritans and Romanists loudly denied her to be a lawful Queen. Indeed the inference is still more overwhelming, if we consider what is involved in the opposite hypothesis of forgery. Upon that hypothesis the fraud must necessarily have followed the occasion alleged to have prompted it; and the Registers and other documents must therefore have been forged shortly after 1604, and before 1613, when Dr. Mason quoted them in his book. In other words Dr. Mason, or whomsoever else controversialists light upon as the possible forger, must have been so marvellous a conjuror; that in that space of time he first of all invented half a dozen complicated series of documents all minutely tallying, both with each other and with all known history on the subject; and then inserted all of them, utterly unsuspected by anybody, into every one of their several repositories, over no one of which had he the slightest control, and one or two of which he literally did not know the existence,—at Canterbury, Lambeth, London, Cambridge, Zurich, and the great episcopal and capitular archives all over the kingdom;—and that he did this with such exquisite jugglery as, *e.g.* to insert large portions into Parker's Register at different places, (for the several episcopal consecrations happened at different dates,) and yet to have made them exactly fit in with all the rest as if they had been there from the beginning, and (more marvellous still) fit in exactly also with every one of the numerous other documents elsewhere, many of which he could not possibly have ever seen."—A. W. Haddan's *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*, pp. 197—199. London: 1869.

No. XXII.

LETTERS OF ORDERS OF VARIOUS COMMUNIONS, WITH
OTHER FORMS, DEEDS, AND DOCUMENTS.1. *Form of Degradation.*

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis, et intellectis, ac plenarie et mature per Nos . . . meritis et circumstantiis cujusdam negotii de deprivatione sive degradatione N. . . præfatum N. . . ab omnibus sacris diaconatus et presbyteratus ordinibus juxta ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ alias per eundem susceptis, necnon ab omnibus officiis ecclesiasticis et spiritualibus, omniq[ue] jure, privilegio, statu, ordine, titulo, et habitu clericali, deprivandum, deponendum, exuendum, et realiter degradandum, fore debere, pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus; ejusque literas tam diaconatus quam presbyteratus ordinum, revocamus, cassamus, irritamus, atque annullamus, proque cassis irritis, invalidis, eundemq[ue] N. esse merum laicum, proque mero laico de futuro tenendum, habendum, et reputandum, ad omnem juris affectum pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus; proque sic deprivato, deposito, et exuto, realiterq[ue] degradato, ac pro mero laico, eundem N. sæculari brachio ad subeundum pœnas prædictas remittimus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in hiis scriptis.

2. *Deed of Suspension, used by ARCHBISHOP LAUD.*

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos. G. permissione Divinâ London: Episcopus, rite et legitime procedentes contra quondam N. curatum sive prædicatorem de diocesis nostræ London: nunc coram nobis in judicio præsentem, propter ejus manifestum contemptum etc. . . . Sæpius legitime monitum, jussum, et interrogatum, et post tempus competens ei ad deliberandum concessum, jam renuentum et recusantem, contumacem fuisse et esse, ac pœnas juris in ea parte incurrisse, pronuntiamus, et declaramus; eundemq[ue] N. propter præmissa ab omni functione officii sui clericalis, et ejusdem executione, verbique

Divina prædicatione, sacramentorum administratione, omniumque divinorum officiorum celebratione, suspendendum fore decrevimus: Sicque eundem *N.* suspendimus per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in hiis scriptis.

3. *Form of Deprivation, used by* BISHOP HENRY COMPTON.

IN Sancti Dei Nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis, et intellectis, ac plenarie natureque discussis per Nos Henricum, permissione Divinâ London: Episcopum, meritis et circumstantiis ejusdem negotii quoad deprivationem *M.* clerici, rectoris rectoriæ et ecclesiæ *N.* . . . Idcirco Nos, Henricus London: episcopus antedictus, Christi Nomine primitus invocato, ac Ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præmonentes et habentes, deque et cum consilio jurisperitorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus matureque deliberavimus, prænominatum *N.*, non residuum in et super rectoria et ecclesia sua parochiali. . . . et non inservientem curæ animarum parochianorum dictæ parochiæ juxta monitionem nostram sibi legitime in hac parte factam, inobedientum, negligentem et contumacem fuisse et esse, eundemque *N.* a rectoria et ecclesia sua . . . ratione præmissorum privandum et amovendum fore, dictamque rectoriam . . . de persona dicti *N.* vacuum fuisse et esse pronunciamus, et declaramus: Sicque eundem *N.* deprivamus et amovemus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in hiis scriptis. H. LONDON.

4. *Relaxation of Suspension, used by* ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

GULIELMUS, permissione Divinâ London: Episcopus, universis et singulis rectoribus, vicariis, capellanis, curatis, ministris, et clericis quibuscumque in et per diœcesim Nostram London: ubilibet constitutis, salutem. Cum dilectus Noster venerabilis Vir *M.* Legum Doctor, Surrogatus Noster, legitime fulcitus et legitime procedens, quendam *N.* . . . sententia suspensionis . . . lata et inflicta absolverit . . . vobis igitur committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus prænominatum *N.*, sic ut præfatur, Nostra auctoritate legitime absolutum et relaxatum fuisse et esse, eumque sic absolutum et relaxatum in ecclesiis vestris parochialibus diebus Dominicis et festivis proxime et immediate sequentibus post receptionem Præ-

sentium, inter Divinorum solemnia, cum major in eisdem, ad divina audienda adfuerit populi multitudo palam et publice denunciatis et declaretis, seu sic denunciari et declaravi faciatis cum effectu, sub pœna juris.

5. *Letters of Orders of* ARCHBISHOP JAMES USSHER, *of Armagh.*

HENRICUS, Divinâ Providentiâ Armachanus Archiepiscopus, totius Hiberniæ primas et metropolitanus. Notum facimus universis per presentes quod die viz: die Maii, anno 1602, infra capellam Collegii Sanctæ Trinitatis prope Dublin: Nos Archiepiscopus antedictus sacros et generales ordines Dei Omnipotentis auxilio celebrantes, DILECTUM nobis in Christo Jacobum Ussher, in artibus magistrum in sacris litteris sufficienter instructum de vitâ laudibili moribus et etate [*sic*] nobis non solum multiciter [*sic*] commendatum sed etiam perbene notum Ad sacros Diaconatus ordines juxta morem et ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Librum rite et legitime promovimus et ordinavimus, ipso prius jurato juxtæ vim formam et effectum cujusdam Actûs Parliamenti Anno 2^o regni Reginæ nostræ Elizabethæ in eâ parte salubriter edite et provisi.

Similique modo eisdem die et loco dictum Jacobum Ussher ad sacros presbyteratûs ordines juxta morem et ritum predict: admisimus et ordinavimus.

In CUJUS REI testimonium Sigillum nostrum quo in hac parte utimur Presentibus apponi fecimus die et anno supradictis.

H. ARMACHANUS.

* * * The parchment is endorsed "Literæ Ordinum JACOBI USSHER."

6. *The following is the form commonly used in Spain:—*

Nos. D. Josephus Antonius Rivadeneira, Dei et Apostolicæ sedes gratia, Episcopus Vallisoletanus, Regius Consiliarius, Sacræ Romanæ Rotæ auditor, etc.

Præsentes litteras inspecturis notum facimus: quod anno à Nativitate Domini millesimo octingentesimo trigesimo dilectum nobis in Christo. examinatum approbatum atque exercitatum, juxta Sancti Concilii Tridentini decretæ et Apostolicas Constitutiones Innocentii XII. et XIII. ac Benedicti XIII. Speculatores Domus Israel: Apostoliçi

ministerii: in Supremo militantis ecclesiæ rite ac canonicè promovimus. In quorum fidem Præsentes litteras Nostro nomine sigilloque munitas, ac per infrascriptum Nostræ camaræ Secretarium subscriptas expedire jussimus.

Dat. ut supra.

(L. S.)

JOSEPHUS, EPISCOPUS VALLISOLETANUS.

7. *The following form is common at Rome, and in every diocese of the Pontifical States; also throughout all Italy. It is likewise that used by Prelates holding appointments from the Roman Court and being Bishops in partibus, or otherwise.*

Matthæus Eustachius Connella, Archiepiscopus Neocæsariensis, Prelatus Domesticus et Pontificio Solio Assistens. SS^{mi}. D. N. Pii Papæ IX. Et Apostolicæ sedis apud Regem Belgarum Nuntius Visitor ac Delegatus Apostolicus; Ordinum Regularium.

Dilectum Nobis in Christo venerabilis clericum in Sacro ordine constitutum ab interstitiis et a temporibus a jure præscriptis Auctoritate Apostolica dispensatum, rite dimissum vitâ, moribus, ætate, doctrinâ, cæterisque, per Sacr. Concil. Triden: requisitis idoneum habitum, qui promoveretur et ordinaretur ad sacrum ordinem promovendum atque ordinandum duximus ac promotum et ordinatum esse a Nobis die Mensis Anni Millesimi octingentesimi Bruxellis Diœcesis Mechliniensis in Sacello Nuntiatura Apostolicæ ad conferendos ordines de Ordinarii consensu in Domini Pontificaliter celebrantibus Hisce consignatis litteris testatum facimus et pronunciamus.

Dat. Die Mense Anno et loco præmissis.

(L. S.)

. Secretarius.

8. *The following is the English Version of an African Form which is preserved in the Vatican Library.*

In the Name of the Most Holy, Undivided and Ever-to-be-adored Trinity, Amen.

We proclaim to all the world, that, protected by the Almighty, in obedience to the command of our Blessed Saviour Christ, King of the Kingdoms, and by the co-operation of the Divine Paraclete, We, the undersigned, by God's grace, Bishop of in the jurisdiction of St. Mark, administering Holy Orders under God Almighty's protection, did admit our well-beloved, the beloved and well-taught to the holy order of Priesthood, and did ordain him in obedience to the command of our Head, and according to the sacred canons of the Church and the customs, divinely-preserved by the Holy Church of Alexandria, on [day] [month] [year] So We declare and attest with Our signature and Our Episcopal Seal.

(L. S.)

. Bishop.
. Archpresbyter.
. Archdeacon.

9. *Ancient English Form of Testimonial for Holy Orders.*

Cum antiquus et probatus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ mos sit, ut qui ad literarum studium vitæ probitatem adjunxerint, publico hominum fide dignorum testimonio honestarentur; Nos quorum nomina infra scripta sunt, testamur, perquam eruditum et delectum nobis in Christo in Artibus Magistrum per triennium proxime elapsam assiduam Officio suo operam desiste, vitamque, et mores suos piè et sobriè instituisse, dignumque judicamus qui ad quidlibet munus in Ecclesiæ promoveatur, et quam de eo opinionem concessimus eandem apud omnes libere profiteamur.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigilla Nostra præsentibus apposuimus. Dat. die Anno Dom.

10. *ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL'S Form in Conferring Orders on Presbyterian Ministers.*

“Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit), nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes;

quos proprio iudici relinquimus: sed solummodo supplentes, quicquid prius defuit per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos Presbyterates tanquam invalidos aversentur. In cujus rei testimonium, etc.”—*Life of Bramhall, by Vesey.*

11.—*Form of License to preach granted by QUEEN MARY.*

(BISHOP BONNER'S Register, folio 346.)

MARIA, etc. supremum caput, dilecto subdite nostro A. B. Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaurio, salutem. Literarum scientia, morum honestas, ac alia probitatis et virtutum merita, super quibus apud nos fide digno commendaris testimonio, merito nos inducunt ut personam tuam favore benigno prosequamur. Ad prædicandum igitur et exponendum Verbum Dei publice sermone Latino vel vulgari, clero vel populo, in quibuscunque ecclesiis et aliis locis ad hoc congruis et honestis, quibuscunque infra regna nostra etc. situatis; tibi quamdiu nobis placuerit et laudabiliter te gesseris, in hac parte licentiam tenore Præsentium impartimur, et plenam in Domino concedimus potestatem, constitutionibus, legibus et statutis aliisque in contrarium editis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

In cujus rei testimonium has literas fieri fecimus patentes.

Teste meipsa apud Westmonast: vicesimo die Novembris anno Regni nostri primo.

Per Cancell: virtute Warranti Reginæ.

12. *The following is the Form of Letters of Orders given to Bishops who are consecrated in the Scottish Church:—*

IN NOMINE DEI. AMEN.

OMNIBUS ubique Catholicis per Præsentes pateat, Nos. A. B. permissione Divinâ Episcopum C. . . .; D. E. Episcopum F. et G. H. Episcopum I. . . . mysteria Sacra Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in Ecclesiâ Sancti celebrantes, Divini Numinis præsidio fretos (præsentibus tam e Clero, quam e populo, testibus idoneis) M. N. Coll. Oxon: sacro

Presbyteratûs Ordine in Ecclesiâ (Scot.) Anglicanâ jam decoratum, et Nobis pro vitæ integritate, morum probitate, et Orthodoxiâ commendatum, et ad docendum et regendum aptum et idoneum, ad sacrum et sublimem Episcopatûs Ordinem promovisse, et ritè ac canonicè, secundum Morem et Ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, in Ecclesiâ Scoticanâ usurpatos, consecrâsse.

In cujus rei testimonium,² Instrumento huic (Chirographis nostris prius munito) sigilla nostra apponi mandavimus, die supra dicto.

D. E. Episc F. A. B. Episc. C. et Primus. G. H. Episc. I.

13. *The following is a form used in England in the early part of the seventeenth century :—*

TENORE Præsentium, Nos, Thomas [Morton] Providentiâ Divinâ Covent : et Lichf : Episcopus, notum facimus, quod 18^o die Dec. A.D. 1625, et Nostræ translationis 7^o Sacros et generales Ordines Dei Omnipot. præsidio celebrand. in Ecclesiâ parochiali et præbendali de Eccleshall intra dictam Nostram dioc. dilectum nobis in Christo Johannem Poynter Colleg. Æneonas. in academia Oxon. A. B. de vita sua laudabili ac morum et virtutum suarum donis nobis in hac parte commendat. atq : in sacrarum literarum scientia et doctrina competen. eruditum, ac a nobis ipsis prius examinat. et comprobatum, ad sacrum presbyteratus ordinem, juxta morem et ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ admissus et promovimus eundemq : Johannem Poynter, in debita juris forma juratum de adnoscenda suprema Potestate Dni. Regis Caroli nostri infra hæc regna et jurisdictiones suas juxta formam statuti hac in parte provisi et editi necnon Articulis Religionis infra hac inclytum Angliæ regnum stabilit. voluntarie consentient. et coram nobis subscribentem juxta canonem sive constitut. in ea parte sanctit. et promulgatum in presbyterum rite et canon. ordinavimus tunc et ibid.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum Nostrum episcopale Præsentibus apposuimus Dat. anno, mense, die locoq : predictis.

RIC. BADDELEY,

Notarius Publicus.

Tho. (L. S.) Coven. et Lichf.

14. *Form of Letters of Orders in the Anglo-Roman Communion.*

**Richardus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis Gratia Episcopus
Nottinghamensis**

Universis et singulis has Præsentes lecturis notum facimus et testamur Nos die..... Mensis..... 185..... ordinationem habentes in Ecclesia..... intra Missarum solemnias, dilectum in Christo..... cum litteris dimissorialibus..... examinatum, approbatum idoneumque repertum per examinatores a Nobis deputatos ad Ordinem..... juxta Ritus S. C. Servata norma S. Concilii Tridentini in Domino rite promovisse.

In quorum fidem has testimoniales litteras manu nostra et Secretarii nostri, Sigilloque Nostro munitas dari jussimus, apud die..... Mensis..... 185.....

15. *Letters of Deacons' Orders in the Church of England.*

By the Tenor of these Presents, We *Edward* by Divine Permission, **Bishop of Oxford** do make it known unto all Men, that on Sunday the *Seventeenth* Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and *Twenty-one*.

¶ We the Bishop before mentioned, solemnly administering Holy Orders under the Protection of the Almighty, in our **Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford**, did admit our beloved in Christ *Frederick Lee, B.A., Merton College, Curate of Thame in the County and Diocese of Oxford*, (of whose virtuous and pious Life, Conversation, and Competent Learning and Knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, We were well assured) into the Holy Order of **Deacons**, according to the Manner and Form prescribed and used by the Church of England, and him the said *Frederick Lee* did then and there rightly and canonically ordain **Deacon**, He having first in Our Presence freely and voluntarily subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Three Articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon, and he likewise having having taken the Oaths appointed by Law to be taken for and instead of the Oath of Supremacy. In Testimony whereof, We have caused our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed, the Day and Year above written, and the *Sixth* Year of our *Consecration*.

Ed. (L. S.) Oxford.

16. *Letters of Priests' Orders in the Church of England.*

By the Tenor of these Presents, we *Edward* by Divine Permission, *Bishop of Oxford* do make it known unto all Men, that on Sunday, the *Twenty-second* Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and *Twenty-two*.

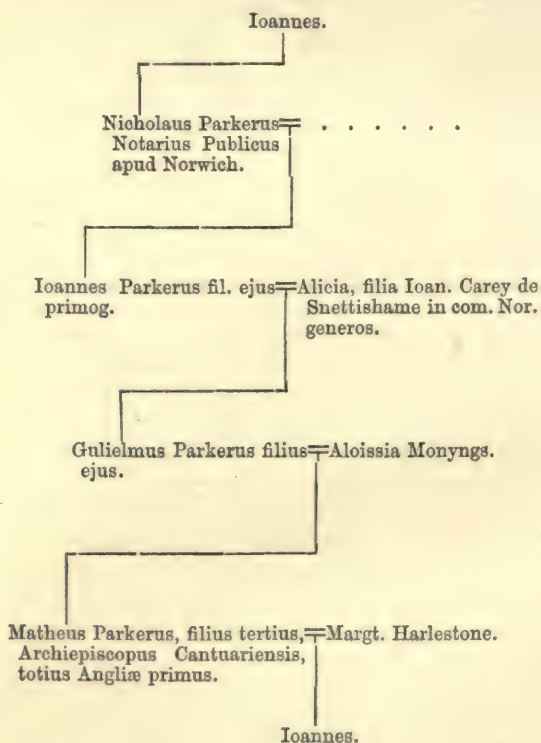
We the Bishop before mentioned, solemnly administering Holy Orders under the Protection of the Almighty, in the *Chapel of All Souls' College, in the University of Oxford*, did admit our beloved in Christ *Frederick Lee, B.A., Merton College, Curate of Thame, in the County and Diocese of Oxford*, (of whose virtuous and pious Life, Conversation, and Competent Learning and Knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, We were well assured) into the Holy Order of *Priests*, according to the Manner and Form prescribed and used by the Church of England, and him the said *Frederick Lee* did then and there rightly and canonically ordain *Priest*, He having first in Our Presence freely and voluntarily subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Three Articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon, and he likewise having taken the Oaths appointed by Law to be taken for and instead of the Oath of Supremacy. In Testimony whereof, *We* have caused Our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed, the Day and Year above written, and the *Seventh* Year of Our *Consecration*.

Ed. (L. S.) Oxford.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT.

No. 1. PEDIGREE OF PARKER OF NORWICH FOR FIVE GENERATIONS.

(Coles' MSS. No. 47. Original Pedigrees. A. fol. 211-212.)



Vide p. 180 of this Treatise; where for "College of Arms," read
"Corpus Christi College, Cambridge."

No. 2. ANDREW PIERSON, B.D. (*Vide* p. 177.)

THIS Priest was both Chaplain and Almoner to Archbishop Parker, who collated him to the Rectories of Brasted and Chiddingstone, and to the Vicarage of Wrotham, and procured for him from the Crown, a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral. He also appointed him Master of the Faculties, which office Mr. Pierson resigned to Archbishop Grindall. Parker bequeathed to him a gilt cup and cover, which had been given to him by the Queen, and nominated him one of the interpreters of his will.

No. 3. THE EXILED FRENCH CLERGY IN ENGLAND.

(*Vide* note [*] p. 276.)

It is frequently asserted that the Church of England, in the latter part of the last century, was so dead that little or nothing was effected in a Catholic direction. But this is hardly a fair or accurate statement; and is by no means the judgment which was delivered by those exiled French clergy, keen and impartial observers, who were hospitably received in England after the French Revolution, and who, having seen the working of the Church in various parts, gave a most favourable report of the same to their superiors on returning to their native country; testifying indirectly to the fact that our Ordinations are valid.

“Though the Sacred Sacrifice is not offered as frequently as in the Catholic Church,” wrote one of the French priests residing at Thame, to a friend in France, in 1796, “yet the services and rites of the English Church are like our own, and, it is said, bear a great likeness to the services and rites of the old Church before any changes were made. The churches are frequently open, and the prayers breathe a spirit of admirable doctrine and refined devotion. *Baptism, Confirmation (without anointing), Marriage, the Sacrament of Communion* are all given, according to venerable forms, very simple, by clergy whose promotion to Sacred Orders, with care and preparation, is made by a manner perfectly in harmony with the respected customs of the Ancient Church. In this town there is an absence of rude licence and unpleasing want of respect: the Lord’s Day is kept by attendance at Divine Service; and the clergy, who claim to have, and who I see no reason whatever to doubt, possesses the same character

as pastors and priests, as their spiritual forefathers, have always received, and retain until now, the confidence and affection of their people. There is not a little to be learnt from observing the manner in which the Church of England is respected and revered; nor can the most anxious critic discover the absence of anything that is essential to the efficiency of the same with the flocks."

The writer of this letter, who kept up a correspondence with at least one of the families in the town in question, was the Rev. John le Grice, of Rouen, who lived to return to France, and to publish a very interesting monograph of his life in exile, issued at Rouen, in 1807. A Diary is given in the early portions of the book. *Vide*, likewise, "ADDITIONAL NOTES," note 6, p. 385 of this Treatise.

NO. 4. OPINION OF EASTERN THEOLOGIAN ON THE EDWARDINE FORM.

The author is indebted to an old friend and valued contributor to the *Union Review*, for having, with much persevering labour, obtained the following Opinion:—

"We, who have signed our names to this declaration below, hold that the services for making a Priest and a Bishop [*i.e.*, the Forms in Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book], submitted to us by the [Very] Rev. Dr. Lee, Secretary of the Eastern Unity Society, and other Priests of the British Churches, though diverse in construction and form to the unchangeable rites of Orthodoxy, might be lawfully used by Churches having the tradition; and, as we judge, are sufficient in themselves for bestowing the Presbyterate and for conferring the office and character of a Bishop, according to Christ's appointment.

CHRISTOPHER DAMILLA, Expositor of Theology.

MARK STRAMOYSKI, P.T.M. Moscow.

BASILIDES, of the Great Monastery, and Theologus.

[A True translation of the written Opinion intrusted to Us, as We testify—A. SKENE-FORBES, B.A.; Chios, Aug. 14th, 1869; H. P. ROBERTSON; Athens, Sept. 25th, 1869.]

NO. 5. ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS CONCERNING BARLOW'S CONFIRMATION IN THE SEE OF ST. DAVID'S, THE 21ST APRIL, 1536, HIMSELF BEING PRESENT. *

Literæ Patentes Regiæ super Assensu suo Regio.

Henricus Octavus, Dei gratiâ, etc. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Thomæ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo, etc. Sciatis quod Electioni nuper factæ in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Menevensi, per mortem bonæ memoriæ Dom. Ricardi Rawlins, ultimi Episcopi ibidem vacante, de Reverendo in Christo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe S.T.P. tunc Episcopo Assavensi in Episcopum loci illius (et) Pastorem, Regium Assensum adhibuimus et favorem, et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus, ut quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini. Teste meipso apud Westmonas: 20 die April, anno Regni nostri 27. (*Cranmer's Register.*)

2. Acta habita et facta coram Venerabili viro magistro Johanne Cocks Legum Doctore, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et D. Domini Thomæ, permissione divinâ Cantuar: Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitanæ Vicario in Spiritualibus Generali, et ad infra scripta Commissario specialiter deputato, in negotio confirmationis electionis Reverendi in Christo Patris Dom. Willielmi Barlowe, nuper Episcopi Assaphensis, ac Monasterii de Bisham Sarum Dioces. commendatarii perpetui, in Episcopum Menevensem electi, die veneris 21 Aprilis, anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo sexto, in Capella Sancti Thomæ Martyris, in Australi parte Ecclesiæ Parochialis Beatæ Mariæ de Arcubus Londoniensis notoriè situatâ, in præsentia mei Thomæ Argall Notarii Publici in Actorum scribam, propter Absentiam Magistri Willielmi Potkin Registrarii, in eâ parte assumpti.

Quibus die et loco Magister Johannes Hughes Legum Doctor, Domino judicialiter pro Tribunali sedente, personaliter constitutus, exhibuit Litteras Regias de et super Assensu suo Regio

* Omitted on p. 373,

adhibito electioni prædicti Reverendi Patris in Episcopum Menevensem electi, et etiam exhibuit Litteras Commissionales dicti Reverendissimi Patris et ex parte ejusdem Reverendissimi Patris petiit et requisivit Dominum, quatenus ille dignaretur acceptare in se onus executionis earundem, et procedere juxta omnem vim, formam et effectum earundem. Ad cujus petitionem Dominus acceptavit in se onus earundem et decrevit sic procedendum fore. Ac tunc dictus Magister Johannes Hughes, exhibuit procuratorium Litteratoriè in processu electionis de eodem Domino electo, inscript. pro Præcentore et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis, et faciens se partem pro eisdem, petiit quod Dominus idem Magister Johannes Hughes Procurator antedictus, præsentavit prædictum Reverendum Patrem electum, et exhibuit mandatum originale, una cum Certificatorio in dorso ejusdem, et petiit omnes et singulos oppositores sive volentes opponere contra dictam electionem, personamve electam aut formam ejusdem citandos, præconizandos, factâque præconizatione Dominus ad petitionem ipsius Procuratoris accusantis eorum contumaciam in præsentia prædicti Domini electi pronuntiavit eos contumaces et in pœnam contumaciarum suarum ipsis et eorum cuilibet viam ulterius opponendi contra dictam electionem, etc. præcludebat in scriptis et ulterius decrevit procedendum fore ad ulteriora in dicto negotio juxta juris exigentiam.

Quibus sic gestis dictus magister Johannes Hughes, Procurator Præcentoris et Capituli prædicti, in præsentia dicti Domini electi, dedit quandam summariam petitionem, quam Dominus, ad ejus petitionem in præsentia dicti Domini electi, admisit et assignavit sibi ad probandam eandem Summariam petitionem ad statim et in partem termini dictus Magister Johannes Hughes procurator antedictus exhibuit Decretum electionis de dicto Domino electo factum, sigillo communi Sigillatum, et produxit Magistrum Johannem Barlowe Clericum et Arthurum Berkeley Laicum, in Testes, quos Dominus admisit et jurare fecit, in præsentia memorati Domini electi, et insuper Dominus ad petitionem Procuratoris prædicti Præcentoris et Capituli assignavit ad proponendum omnia ad statim, in præsentia præfati Domini electi. Ac tunc dictus Procurator in præsentia Domini electi, exhibuit omnia acta, actitata, exhibata, etc. quatenus faciunt, etc. ac Dominus ad petitionem ipsius Procuratoris petentis terminum sibi assignari ad concludendum

ad statim: et Dominus concludebat cum dicto Procuratore secum in eâ parte concludente. Ac ad petitionem dicti Procuratoris in præsentia dicti Domini electi, assignavit ad audiendum finale Decretum ad statim, et insuper Dominus ad petitionem Procuratoris accusantis contumaciam omnium et singulorum interesse in dicto electionis negotio habentium, citatorum, præconizatorum et nullo modo comparantium, nec causam aliquam allegantium, quare sententia definitiva in dicto negotio (*deest* non) promulgetur, pronuntiavit eosdem contumaces in scriptis, et in pœnam contumaciarum suarum hujusmodi, decrevit procedendum fore ad Lecturam, et prolationem sententiæ sive Decreti finalis in dicto negotio. Et tandem Dominus ad petitionem ipsius Procuratoris in præsentia prædicti Domini electi tulit et promulgavit sententiam diffinitivam in scriptis, per quam electionem de dicto Domino electo factum confirmavit, super quibus præfatus Magister Johannes Hughes Procurator antedictus me præfatum Thomam Argall unum vel plura, etc. Præsentibus tunc ibidem Magistris Georgio Wemesly et Mauricio Griffin clericis, Richardo Marche, Olivero Hill et Petro Lillye.—*Cranmer's Register.*

Sequuntur instrumenta in negotio hujusmodi Confirmationis prolata et lecta: Succedit Sententia finalis sub hujusmodi tenore verborum.

Sententia finalis.

In Dei Nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis et intellectis ac plenariè discussis per nos Johannem Cockes Legum Doctorem Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini Domini Thomæ, permissione Divinâ, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis et Metropolitanis, Illustrissimi in Christo Principis et Domini nostri Domini Henrici Octavi Domini Hiberniæ, ac in terris supremi Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo capitis, sufficienter et legitimè deputat. Vicarium in spiritualibus generalem et commissarium in hac parte sufficienter et legitimè deputatum, meritis et circumstantiis ejusdem causæ sive negotii confirmationis electionis de Te Reverendo in Christo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe nuper Episcopo Assavensi et Monasterii de Bisham Sarum diœcesi, Cantuariensis Provinciæ, Commendatario perpetuo, in Episcopum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis dictæ Cantuariensis Provinciæ, per mortem naturalem bonæ memoriæ Domini Richardi Rawlins ultimi Epis-

copi ibidem vacantis, per Præcentorem et Capitulum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis electo, celebratæ, quæ causa sive negotium coram nobis aliquandiu vertebatur, ac in præsentì vertitur et pendet indecisa, Rimato per nos primitus toto et integro processu in hujusmodi electionis negotio habito et facto atque diligenter recensito, servatisque per nos in hâc parte de jure servandis, ad nostri Decreti finalis sive sententiæ Confirmationis prolationem in hujusmodi negotio ferendam, sic duximus procedendum et procedimus in hunc modum:—Quia per exhibita, producta et probata coram nobis in ipsius electionis negotio, comperimus et invenimus evidenter electionem ipsam per Præcentorem et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis prædictæ de Te Reverendo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe, viro utique provido et discreto, in spiritualibus et temporalibus plurimum circumspecto, vitæque et moribus commendato, de legitimo matrimonio procreato, ac in ætate legitimâ, et ordine sacerdotali constituto, ritè et legitime fuisse et esse celebratam atque factam nihilque Tibi Domino Willielmo electo prædicto de Canonicis institutis obviasse, seu obviare quo minus in Episcopum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis eligi debeas, et electio ejusmodi sic de Te facta atque celebrata debeat per nos auctoritate dicti Reverendissimi Patris merito confirmari; idcirco nos Johannes Cocks Legum Doctor, Vicarius in Spiritualibus Generalis et Commissionarius antedictus, attentis præmissis, et aliis virtutum meritis, super quibus fide digno commend. testimonio, Christi Nomine primitus invocato ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præponentes, de et cum consilio juris peritorum cum quibus communicavimus in hâc parte, prædictam electionem de Te Domino Willielmo, ut præfertur factam et celebratam auctoritate Metropolitica dicti Reverendissimi Patris nobis in hâc parte commissâ, confirmamus, defectus si qui in hâc parte fuerint, quantum ad nos attinet, et de jure poterimus supplentes, et supplemus per hoc nostrum Decretum finale sive sententiam definitivam quod sive quam ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

4. Excellentissimo in Christo Principi, et Domino nostro, Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei gratiâ Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Fidei defensori, et Domino Hiberniæ, ac in terrâ supremo capiti sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: Thomas permissione Divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et

Metropolitanus, ad infra scripta sufficienter per vos et Parliamentum vestrum autorizatus, salutem in eo per quem Reges regnant et Principes dominantur.

Quia nos electionem de Reverendo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe, nuper Episcopo Assavensi, et Monasterii de Bisham Sarum Diocesis, nostræ Cantuariensis Provinciæ, Commendatario perpetuo, in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis dictæ nostræ Cantuariensis Provinciæ, nuper factam, cui assensum vestrum Regium adhibuistis et favorem in debitâ juris formâ, justitiâ id poscente, confirmavimus, cæteraque peregimus, quæ in dictæ confirmationis negotio de jure requiruntur, eandem igitur confirmationem sic ut præmittitur, per nos factam fuisse et esse, Celsitudini vestræ Regiæ, tenore præsentium, significamus: supplicantes quatenus in præmissis favores benevolos exhibere, cæteraque peragere, facere et jubere ulterius dignetur vestra Majestas gratiosè, quæ ad Regiam vestram dignitatem pariter et prærogativam attinent in hac parte.

In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Datum in Manerio nostro de Lambehithe vigesimo primo mensis Aprilis, anno Dom. 1536, et nostræ consecrationis anno quarto. (*Cranmer's Register.*)

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 WOODHEAD, Abraham, 249, 271.

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YALE, Thomas, 149*, 178.
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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 19, foot note *, line 5, for "Est justus." read "Est justus?"
 „ 19, line 6, for "dignus" read "dignum."
 „ 19, line 8, for "hic" read "his."
 „ 21, foot note †, line 1, for "Evangeliorum" read "Evangeliorum."
 „ 21, foot note *, *dele* "Sarum."
 „ 22, side note, for "1559" read "1549."
 „ 42, line 22, after "Hence it may" insert "be."
 „ 44, line 3, for "objection" read "objections."
 „ 46, line 7, for "Warton" read "Wharton."
 „ 48, last line, after "all things" insert "were."
 „ 63, note *, after "Sub" *dele*.
 „ 79, line 22, for "it antiquity" read "its antiquity."
 „ 82, foot note * line 10, for "ipsam" read "ipsum."
 „ 90, line 21, for "dei" read "Dei."
 „ 90, line 22, for "donati" read "donatio."
 „ 104, line 30, for "offere" read "offerre."
 „ 110, line 1, for "holy-ordained" read "newly-ordained."
 „ 121, line 28, for "whosoever" read "whosoever."
 „ 121, line 29, for "whosoever" read "whosoever."
 „ 122, foot note * line 1, for "Rhenish" read "Rhemish."

Page 165, foot note † line 17, for "1686" read "1586."
 „ 168, foot note *, for "Appendix No. X" read "Appendix No. XII."
 „ 177, note *, for "foot note (*) p. 150" read "foot note (†) p. 150."
 „ 183, foot note *, for "procès verbal" read "procès verbal."
 „ 195, lines 4 and 5, the inverted commas[""] should stand before "Christopherus," and not before "Christopher."
 „ 213, foot note †, for "A. W. Haddan, M.A." read "A. W. Haddan, B.D."
 „ 254, last line, for "Mrcella" read "Marcell."
 „ 272, line 14, for The learned Bishop" read "The learned Bishop."
 „ 278, line 23, for "prove" read "proof."
 „ 280, line 15, for "presumption" read "presumptions."
 „ 285, line 35, for "been" read "become."
 „ 285, line 39, for "arguments" read "argument."
 „ 292, line 30, "eight" read "eighty."
 „ 294, line 1, for "doctor" read "doctors."
 „ 312, line 31, for "Church of England now" read "Church-of-England man."
 „ 314, line 14, for "Sone" read "Son."
 „ 327, line 31, for "aught what" read "aught that."

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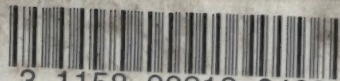
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